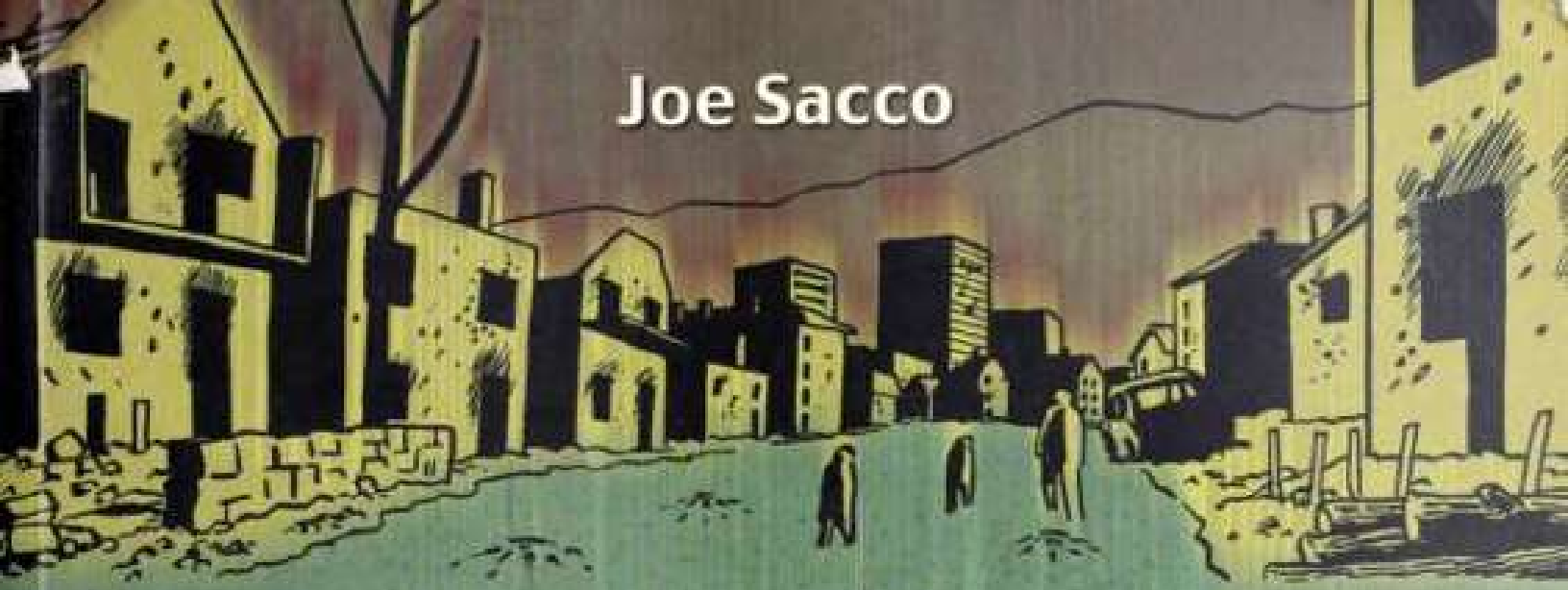

Joe Sacco

Safe Area GORAŽDE

The War in Eastern Bosnia 1992–95

Foreword by Christopher Hitchens

"An extraordinary work of both journalism and comics nonfiction." —*Publishers Weekly*

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Safe Area GORAŽDE

by Joe Sacco

FANTAGRAPHICS BOOKS

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DEDICATION
This book is dedicated to the town of Gonzalo,
where I spent some of my happiest moments.

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FANTAGRAPHICS BOOKS
7563 Lake City Way NE
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INTRODUCTION BY CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

n Sarajevo in the summer of 1992, when the journalistic community (who had already annexed the British phrase "the hacks" as their collective noun) met in the bar of the disfigured I loliday Inn —and that phtase itself suggests the surreal nature of things, with a Holiday Inn being disfigured rather than disfiguring — there were all sorts of competitive anecdotes about near-misses, random encounters, and different styles of flak-jacket. Every now and then, I noticed, they also spoke of a place that might be even more frightening than Sarajevo itself. There was apparently this town, once not far off but now, with the blockade, as unimaginably difficult of access as Dubrovnik on the coast, or distant Zagreb. (Thus was the Balkanization of the mind slowly accomplished by common speech about "areas," "districts," and the still more alien "zones.") It took me a while to connect the name of this place to the spelling on my map, because when they discussed it — infrequent faint radio transmissions, rumors of mayhem and rape, of famine and even of cannibalism — foreign hacks distributed the emphasis differently each time. Gore-aj-day, Gorr-as-dee. Anyway, the somewhat homely title denoted a location more comprehensively fucked-up and fucked-over than Sarajevo, and thus to be looked up to, or looked down upon, according to choice, or mood.

Having persisted so long as an affront to civilization, and having ended so abruptly with the most compromising compromise that Holbrookian statecraft could confect, the siege of Sarajevo and the obliteration of the 11\ ilian "safe havens" at Srebrenica and Zepa have passed into an area of the semi-conscious. In a dim fashion, people apprehended that the mass graves of the latter were the price — and the pressure — for Bosnian signature ar Dayton. Yet did this not after all constitute peace? Even a peace "process"? How excellent it is, then, that just as we ate all forgiving ourselves, Joe Sacco steps forward to clear his throat, and our vision. How excellent it is, too, that he should have hit upon unfashionable, inaccessible old Gorazde and not one of the war's more chic or celebrated spots.

The first thing that one must praise is the combination of eye and ear. I personally alvvavs tail at physical description on the page, though I can

sometimes catch the nuance of a voice. And I'm referring onk to verbal capacity.

Sacco's combined word-illustration makes me remember that distinctive Bosnian domestic architecture — the gable ends and windows — with a few deft sttokes. You know where you are, in other words, and it's not in some generic hotspot. Then the additional details, such as the unforgettable "bear's paw" scar that a mortar-shell makes on a pavement. And — more easily replicated but still impressive — the forlorn look of a wood-built house that's been reduced by fire to a silhouette and a brick chimney stack. These, in Bosnia, became as suggestive as church-steeples or minarets (mote distinctive than the latter, actually, since most mosques were deliberately dynamited by Serbian chauvinists duting periods of "cease-fire").

As to the ear, I haven't seen it more candidly admitted that the Bosnian war was in so many ways a carnival of embarrassment. On one side was a host of international volunteers, aid-wotkets, charity-artists, and of course hacks, who all desperately wanted to avoid the chatge of being voyeuristic or starry-eyed. This sometimes led to a sort of protective cynicism; sometimes to an idealism that did not quite dare to speak its name. Then there were the actual inhabitants, heirs to a long tradition of hospitality and gusto, who knew that foreign sympathy was their mam hope but didn't want to become absolute whores for it. Language was a sort of barrier, but it often seemed to be put there only as a test of the local plum brandy. This could lead to unintentional awkwardness and forced bonhomie. ("You are American?" "No." "French?" "No." "Ah — you are German — we like Deutschemarks very much ha ha ha." "No." "Where you from?" "England." "English people very good.")

Joe Sacco was evidently no blissed-out internationalist, still less a furry member of any mujahidin, but nor — though he draws himself into his panels as if he wanted us to forgive him a little — was he some affectless, disengaged Zelig. Bosnians are made of human materials and thus make bail subjects for romanticization, yet he found out by dint of punctilious observation, and succeeds in making plain, that thc\ had no aggressive intentions towards their neighbors. Towards their "neighbors," that is to say,

w hcther as contiguous former Yugoslav republics oi as people living next door. Bosnia threatened nobody: Bosnians were defined by their long and easy-going habit of coexistence. Those who butchered and dis-

rf?

persed them had to lie and shuck, as a thug 01 rapist inconvenient to face down a flimsy roadblock manned will psych himself up to do something foul. If tins is by a rabble of drunken racists? Nobody who wit-not the entire story, it is still the indispensible ele nessed this miserable spectacle will ever forget it; nor ment without which no truthful story can he told. will he wonder how some of the worst deeds in human Sacco tells it through the microcosm of Gorazde, and history came to be committed in plain sight, and with-we're in his debt. out shame. It became essential for the post-Cold War

A microcosm needs its context, and again I gatekeepers to define Chetniks and Bosnian civilians

found myself impressed by his encapsulations. The as equivalent — echoing the propaganda of Milosevic,

historical and geographic inserts are objective, and do their "partner in peace" until 1999 — because other-

not omit the moments when Bosnians, and Bosnian wise the shame might become imsupportable. [slam, were historically compromised (most notably in I now, having disburdened myself, feel

the Second World War). The Bosnians we meet in rather sh\ about saying that Mr. Sacco is also funny,

these pages are nor heroic — though some of them arc anil ironic, ami self-mocking. We have been told that

exemplary — and then greeds and needs are recog "it takes a village" and — newer mind the implication

nizable to any American or European; recognizable to for now — it probably does. A village or small town

the point of banality. Well then, Sacco seems to be like Gorazde can mature for years in history's cask,

saying, will you turn away from the extermination ripening away for all its provincialism. The large

and dispossession of those who are so much like your majority of its citizens may be content or at any rate

own unlovely self? He at any rate could not do so; reconciled. But the awful and frightening fact about

good for him. fascism is that it "takes" only a few gestures (a pig's

Where there is bile in these pages — and I head in a mosque; a rumor of the kidnap of a child; an could quite frankk have done with several more pints armed provocation at a wedding) to unsettle or even anil quarts of it — it is not directed at "the Serbs." undo the communal and human work of generations. Even in their extremity, Bosnian victims referred to Normally the fascists don't have the guts to try it; they Serbo-fascists as "Chetniks" and thus honorably need the reassurance of support from superiors or aid agreed to loathe them under a political and historical from an outside power anil the nca\ to know that and not an ethnic rubric. No, the contempt is reserved "law," defined nationally or internationally, will be a for the temporizing, buck-passing, butt-covering joke at the expense of their victims. In Bosnia they "peacekeepers" who strove to find that swamp of low were granted all three indulgences. But even at the moral and "middle" ground into which the innocent edge of those medieval paintings of breakdown and end up being shoveled In the aggressive. Win was panic anil mania, when people still thought the heav-that road from Sarajevo to Gorazde so impassable? It ens might aid them, there was often the oblique fig-had been wide open through several decades of inef tire at the edge of the scene, who might have hoped to ficient state socialism, after all. Why did NATO record and outlive the carnage anil perhaps to rebuild armies, readied through the same decades to launch a the community. Call him the

moral draughtsman, at thermonuclear war on a moment's notice, find it least for now, and be grateful for small mercies.

•$?

AUTHOR'S NOTE ABOUT PRONUNCIATION

I have opted to leave out the Bosnian-language accents on the names of people and towns; however, my modest lay-person's pronunciation guide for the most prominent places follows:

Gorazde sounds more or less like "go-RAJI 1-diih" (the "Z" is a soft "J" like the second "g" in "garage")

Visegrad rhymes w ith "l-'ISl I-a-grad"

Fan/ rhymes with "GOTcha"

Srebrenica is pronounced "sre-bre-KNEE-(t)sa"

Zepa is pronounced "JHEPP-ah," with a soft "J" sound (see above)

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I THlNJK THINGS

Will get

MUCH BETTER.

A man who'd been sitting at another table invited himself to ours..

He said he'd lost millions of deutschemarks at the begmmnq of the war; but he didn't mind because he was livt'nq in a. "towr\ of heroes".. He said that he alone knewi^e Real Truth about Gorazde... in fact, he'd written a book called 'The Real Truth About Th.s Town'...

He was puttmq himself at my disposal I could ask him anything I liked, 90 ahead, he said...

1 asked him what made hi™ think he knew the Real Truth

He sad hed seen everything... Durmy the worst of the shelling, he said, while everyone was in their cellars, he was out in the streets. He couldn't be touched He couldn't His dreams told him so

He said hed been believing in his dreams since 195?... for example, yesterday he had dreamed he'd receive a letter; and todaq he received the

letter'

And if 1 were a real journalist, he said, who sought the Real Truth, I would visit him and look o\er his manuscript about Gora2de,and he would explain everything

rteaKwhile, si* o'clock came and went and there was no announcement . Mone at midnight, r\oc in the morning, nor by earlu afternoon when an announcement had been rescheduled.. Milosevic, Tudjman, and Tzetbeqovic were still behind closed doors in Dayton, Oh\o, and fi maybe ihe war was going to qo on -forever...

GO/tWAy

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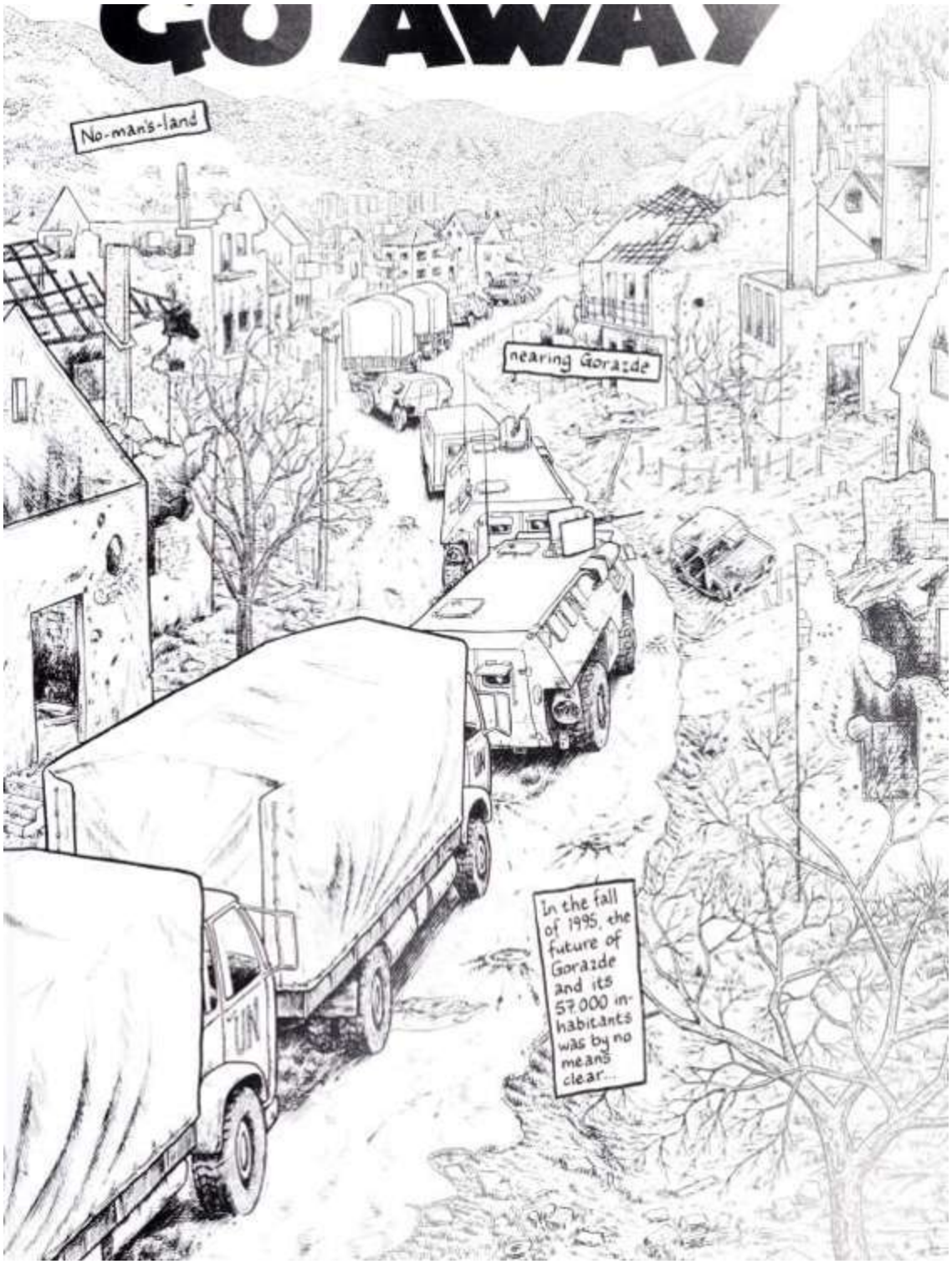
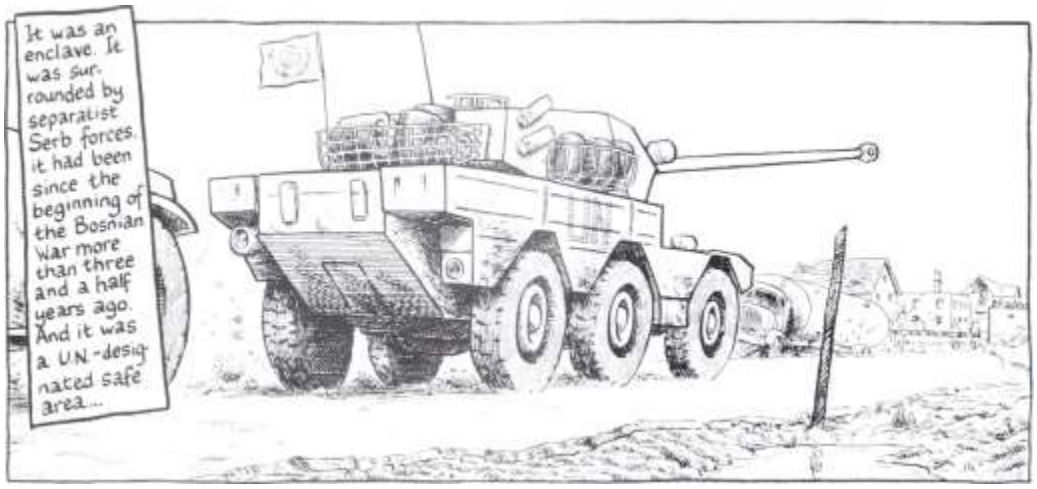

GO AWAY
No-man's-land
nearing Gorazde
In the fall of 1995, the future of Gorazde and its 57,000 inhabitants was by no means clear...
UN


It was an enclave. It was surrounded by separatist Serb forces. It had been since the beginning of the Bosnian War more than three and a half years ago. And it was a UN-designated safe area...

_J

FlKetwo ot^er eastern enclaves,] Srebrenica^

Uepa, also des-

1 ■ „«**#* safe

L ba ndoned j*J

victoriousJ-**^ entered 5rt-

bren,Ca nd^n had emerged^'

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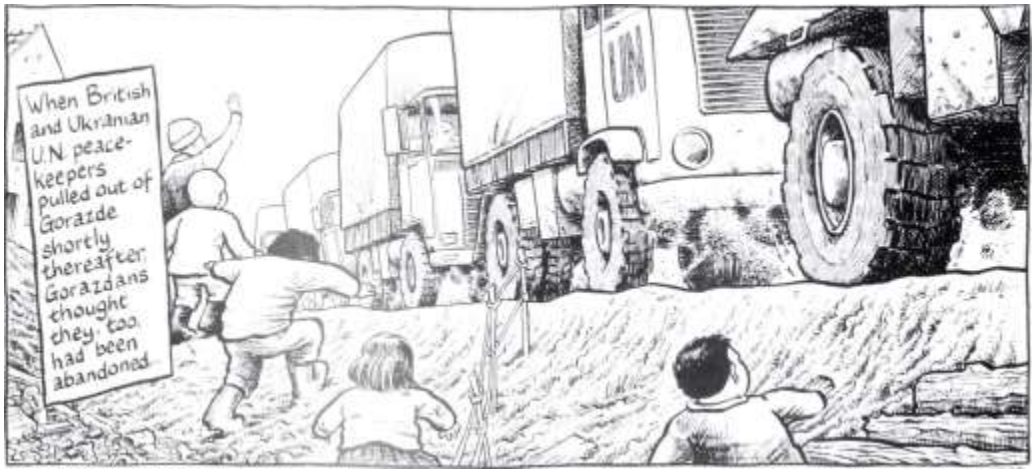
When British and Ukrainian U.N. peace-keepers pulled out of Gorazde shortly thereafter, Gorazdans thought they, too, had been abandoned.
UN

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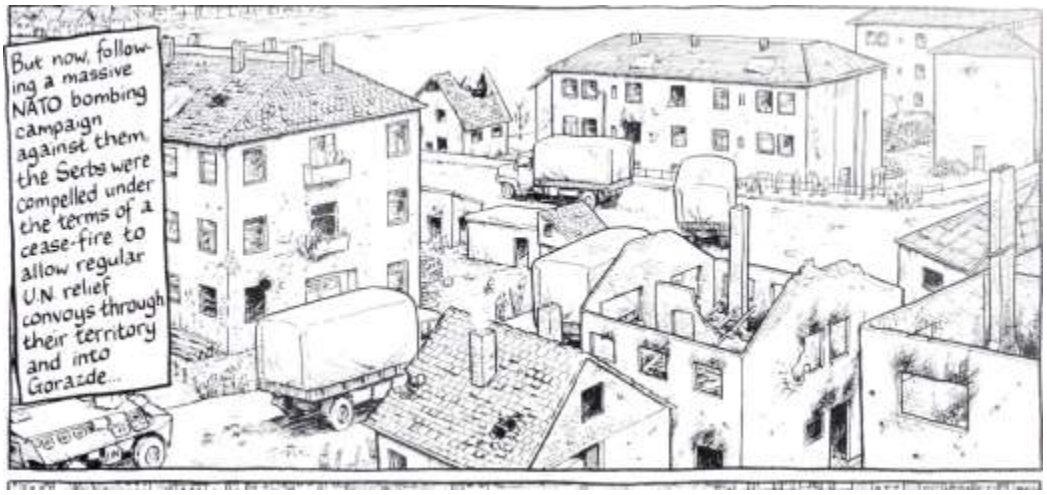
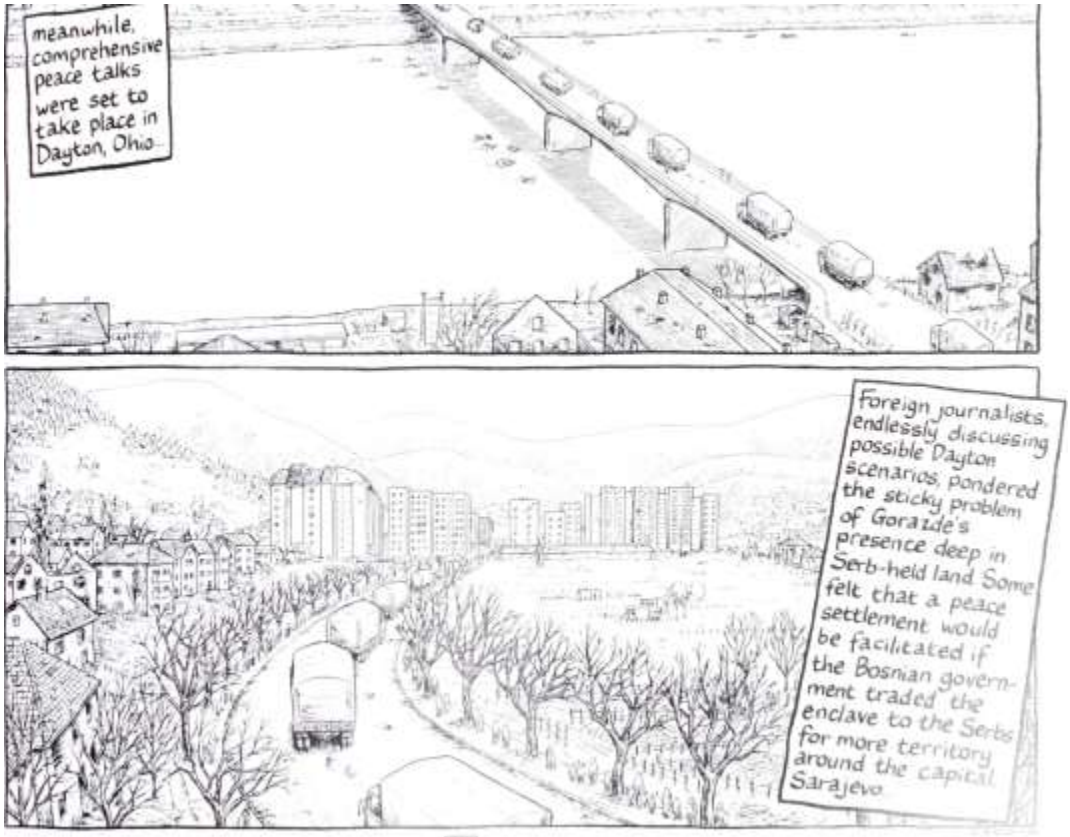

But now, following a massive NATO bombing campaign against them, the Serbs were compelled under the terms of a cease-fire to allow regular U.N. relief convoys through their territory and into Goražde...

comprehensive peace t^ks were set to take place" 1


meanwhile, comprehensive peace talks were set to take place in Dayton, Ohio...
Foreign journalists, endlessly discussing possible Dayton scenarios, pondered the sticky problem of Goražde's presence deep in Serb-held land. Some felt that a peace settlement would be facilitated if the Bosnian government traded the enclave to the Serbs for more territory around the capital Sarajevo.
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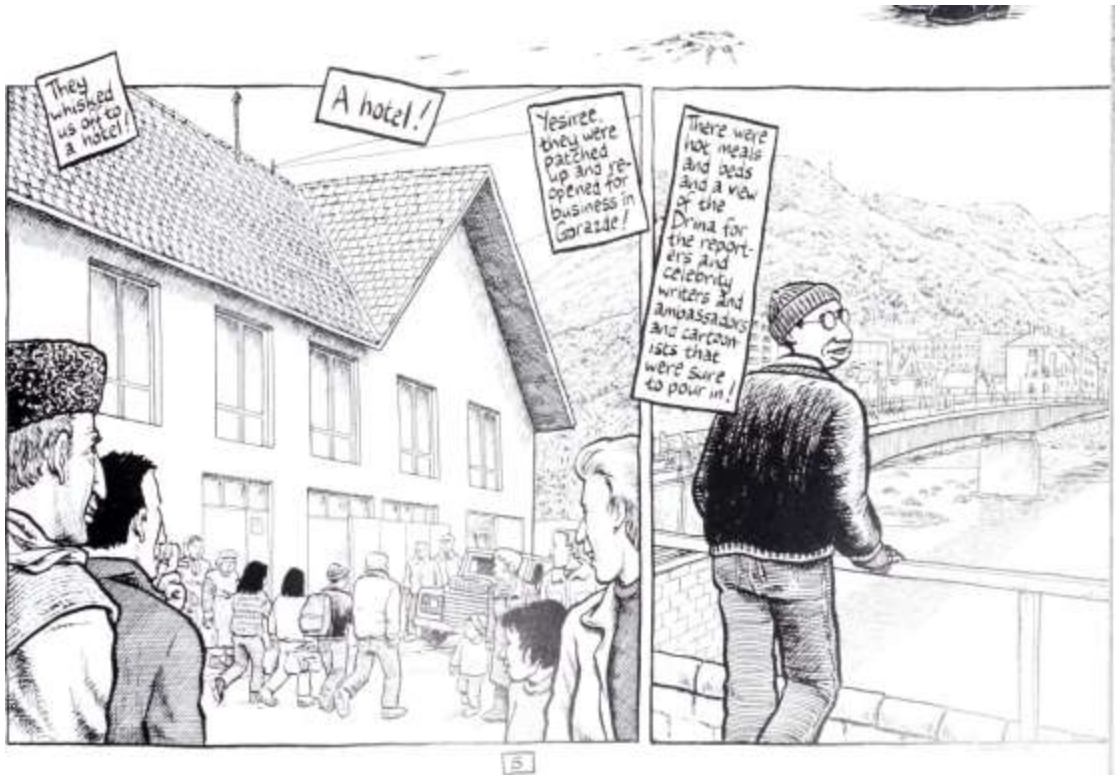
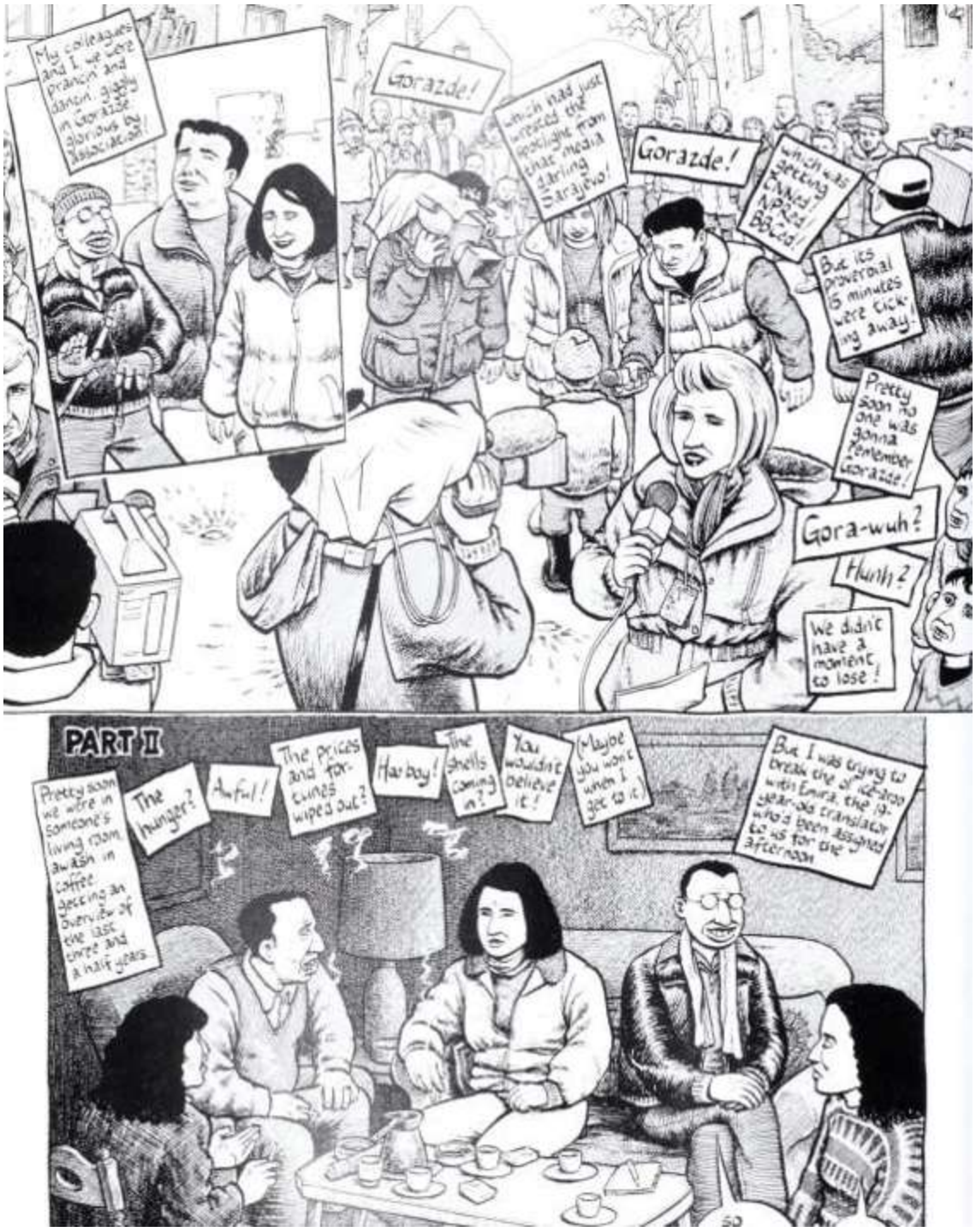

They whisked us off to a hotel!
A hotel!
Yesiree. they were patched up and re-opened for business in Sarajevo!
There were hot meals and beds and a view of the Drina for the reporters and celebrity writers and ambassadors and cartoonists that were sure to pour in!
5


My colleagues and I were praisin' and damn, giddy in Gorazde glorious by blockade-all!
Gorazde!
...which had just wrested the spotlight from...
Gorazde!
...which was getting CNNed! NPR'd BBC'd!
But its proverbial 5 minutes were ticking away!
Pretty soon no one was gonna remember Gorazde!
Gora-wuh?
Hunh?
We didn't have a moment to lose!
PART II
Pretty soon we were in someone's living room awash in coffee getting an overview of the last three and a half years
The hunger?
Awful!
The prices and fortunes wiped out?
Har boy!
The shells coming in?
You wouldn't believe it!
Maybe you won't when I get to it.
But I was trying to break the ice...
...with Emira, the 19-year-old translator to us for the afternoon

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WHAT AROONP FUM?

I PONT 1

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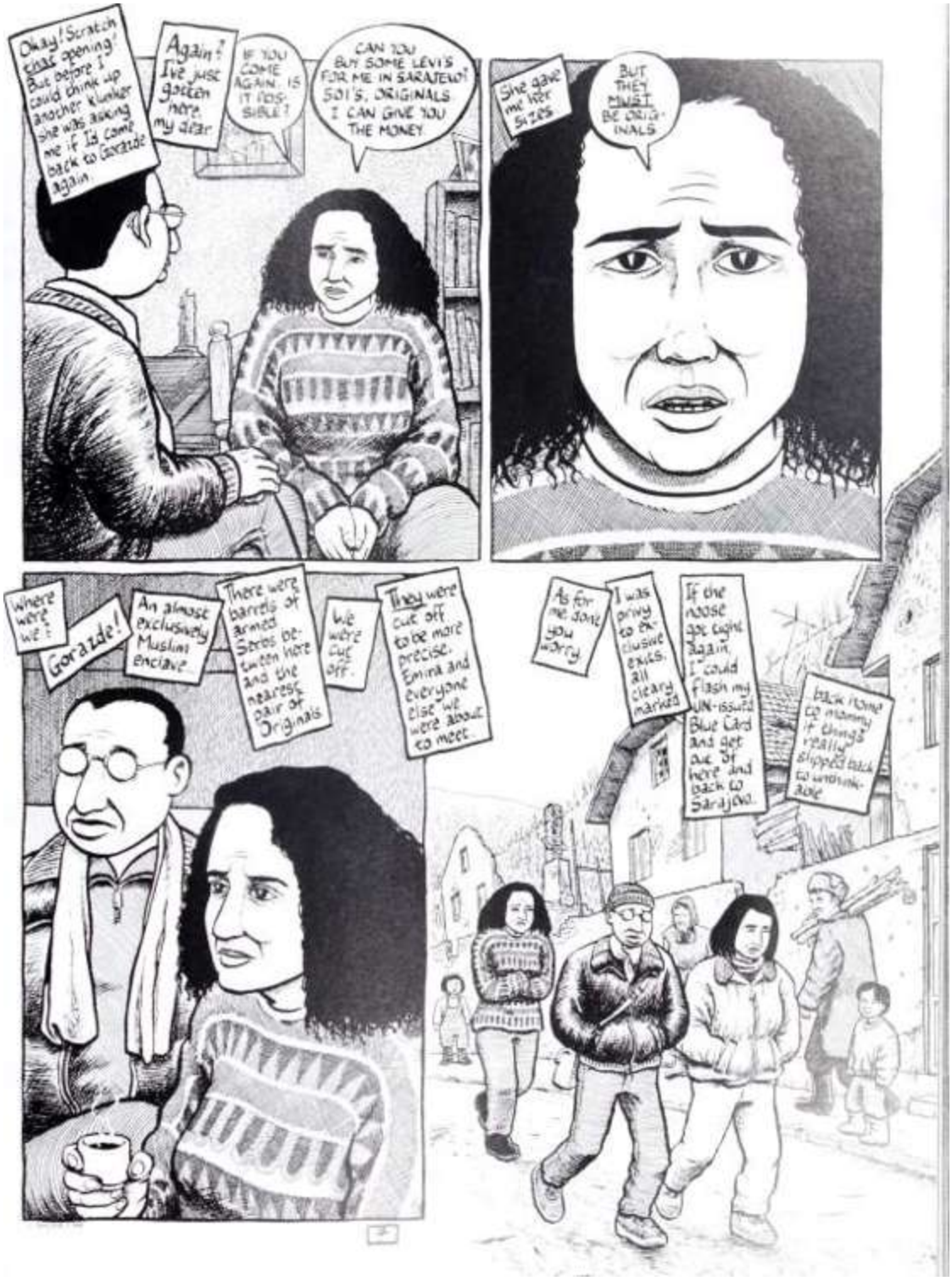
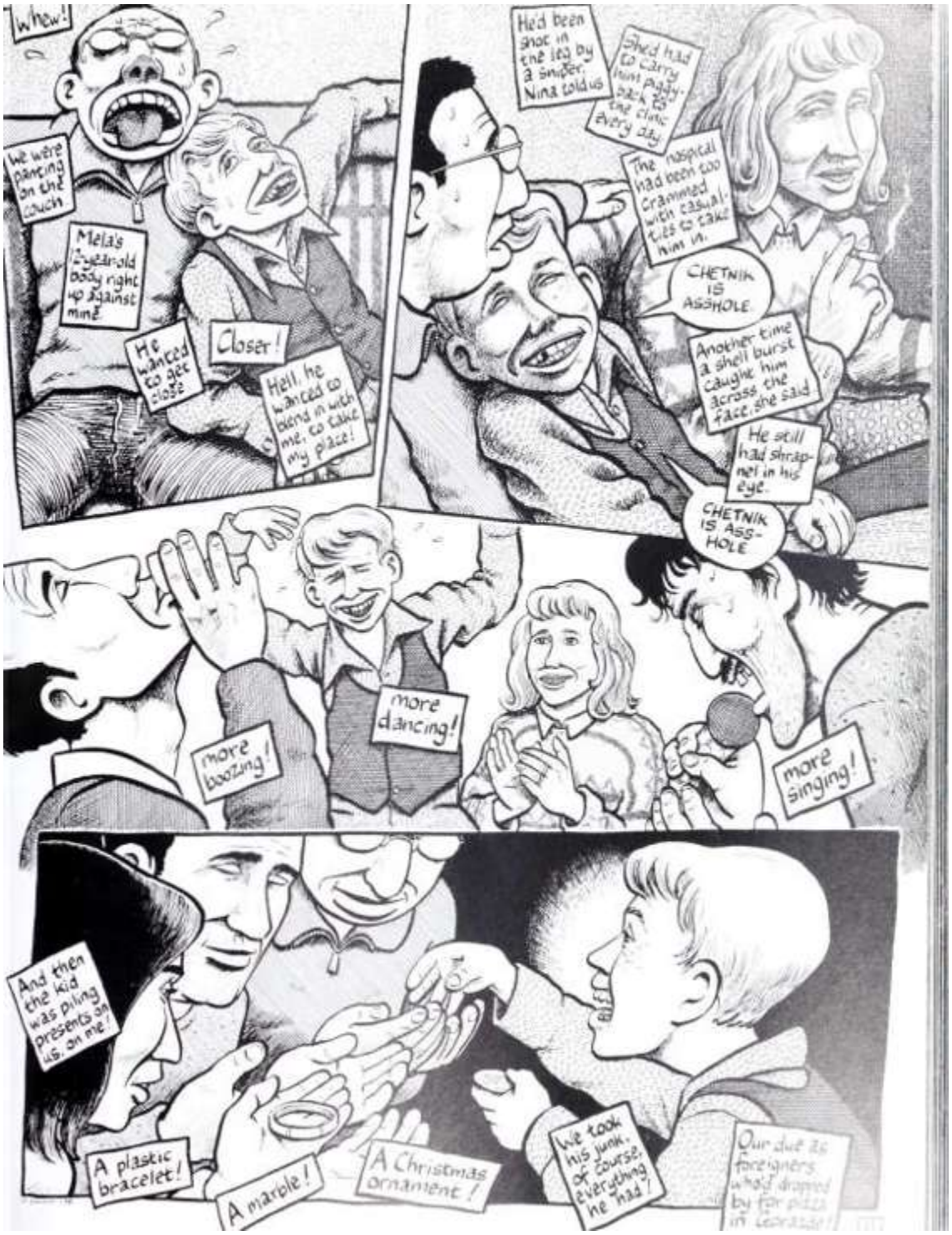

Okay! Scratch little opening! But before I could think up another klunker she was asking me if I'd come back to Gorazde again.
Again? I've just gotten here, my dear.
IF YOU COME AGAIN. IS IT POSSIBLE?
CAN YOU BUY SOME LEVI'S FOR ME IN SARAJEVO? 501'S, ORIGINALS. I CAN GIVE YOU THE MONEY.
She gave me her sizes.
BUT THEY MUST BE ORIGINALS.
Where were we?
Gorazde!
An almost exclusively Muslim enclave.
There were barrels of armed Serbs between here and the nearest pair of Originals.
We were cut off.
They were cut off to be more precise. Emina and everyone else we were about to meet.
As for me, don't worry.
I was privy to exclusive exits, all clearly marked.
If the noose got tight again, I could flash my UN-issued Blue Card and get out of here and back to Sarajevo.
Back home to mommy if things really slipped back to unanimosity.

PART III
A couple hours later, you couldn't have dragged me out of Gorazde
I was having a ball, man, drunk on moonshine brandy and letting loose with some nutto locals ready to turn the presence of a few foreign journalists into a major swingfest
The fellah, Edin – he said he was a school teacher – had organized the party.
Later he turned out to be our main man, my main man, worth his weight in satellite phones to journalists who wanted the scoop on Gorazde and not just the scoop. We wanted some laughs, too. A chandelier to swing from if available
Edin's friend Nina was hosting us, promising homemade pizza

Her son Mels, was all decked out to receive the foreigners
He was some kid. a subscriber to the maximum-body-contact school of hospitality—
and a real charmer with the English he'd picked up from British peacekeepers a few months before —
CHETNIK IS ASSHOLE
Nina's husband was warming it up with a toy microphone, singing his heart out over a turbo-folk video while we laughed and hooted.
Okay okay maybe this shindig doesn't sound like much, just a bunch of drinks and gossip in Bum-fuck, the Balkans.
But our new pals
they partied like the resurrected
not like there was no tomorrow but because there was a tomorrow
they'd been so desperate for feeling and apparently just weeks ago so doomed

But let's skip it!
Ecco la pizza!
Essential ingredients — oil and flour — courtesy of the U.N. convoys!
Trucks!
An easier way to bring food to the table Nina could tell you, than humping it yourself through phony lines and over winter mountains
which she'd done five times
Her pop nag frozen to death up there on that same trail
lots of folks did!
but let's skip it for now!
And I'd just like to observe that having little or nothing to cook for the last three and a half years probably hasn't diminished Nina's prowess in the kitchen!
Our compliments to the chef!
UN
A short digestive pause later and Mela was up and dancing, doing some sort of crazed Eastern European limbo thing!
He pulled me up and I was dancing too!
Man, was I sloshed!
10


Whew!
We were dancing on the couch
Mela's 13-year-old body right up against mine
He wanted to get close
Closer!
Hell, he wanted to bend in with me, to take my place!
He'd been shot in the leg by a sniper. Nina told us
She'd had to carry him piggy-back to the clinic every day
The hospital had been too crammed with casualties to take him in.
CHETNIK IS ASSHOLE
Another time a shell burst caught him across the face, she said
He still had shrapnel in his eye.
CHETNIK IS ASS-HOLE
more boozing!
more dancing!
more singing!
And then the kid was piling presents on us, on me!
A plastic bracelet!
A marble!
A Christmas ornament!
We took his junk, of course, everything he had!
Our due as foreigners

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GUIDES
And so ended the first night of my first trip to Gondwana
That initial five-day trip. I'm telling ya, I didn't accomplish much...
GOD, WHERE AM I?
(and not because of being awed)
Problem was, my colleagues and I, we instantly and individually and simultaneously recognized Edin as a true discovery, a willing, good-natured, sure-footed guide to the horrible and glorious mysteries of a place that had been pushed off the end of the world and then yanked back in the nick of time—
And we each wanted Edin to ourselves
Edin, show me this!
Edin, who do I see about that?
Edin translate for me please please please!
He took us in stride
Sometimes we amused him
I'M NEXT.
But always he did his best to fulfill our journalistic desires.

Ssf

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•Sfcootf, our At the

Edin seemed to know everyone, to have his foot in every door...
he could smooth our way with the police and at the municipality...
he could make the necessary introductions...

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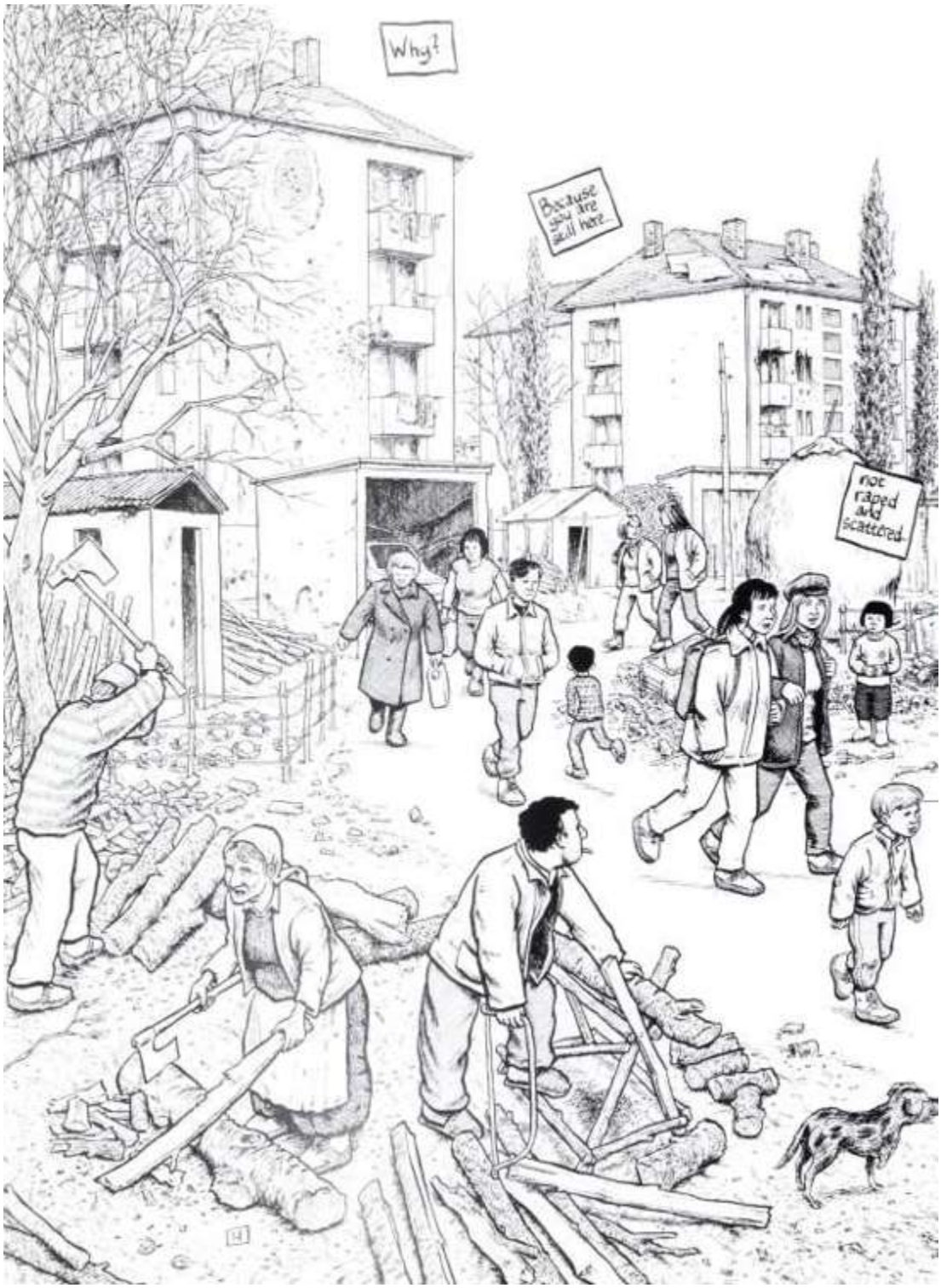
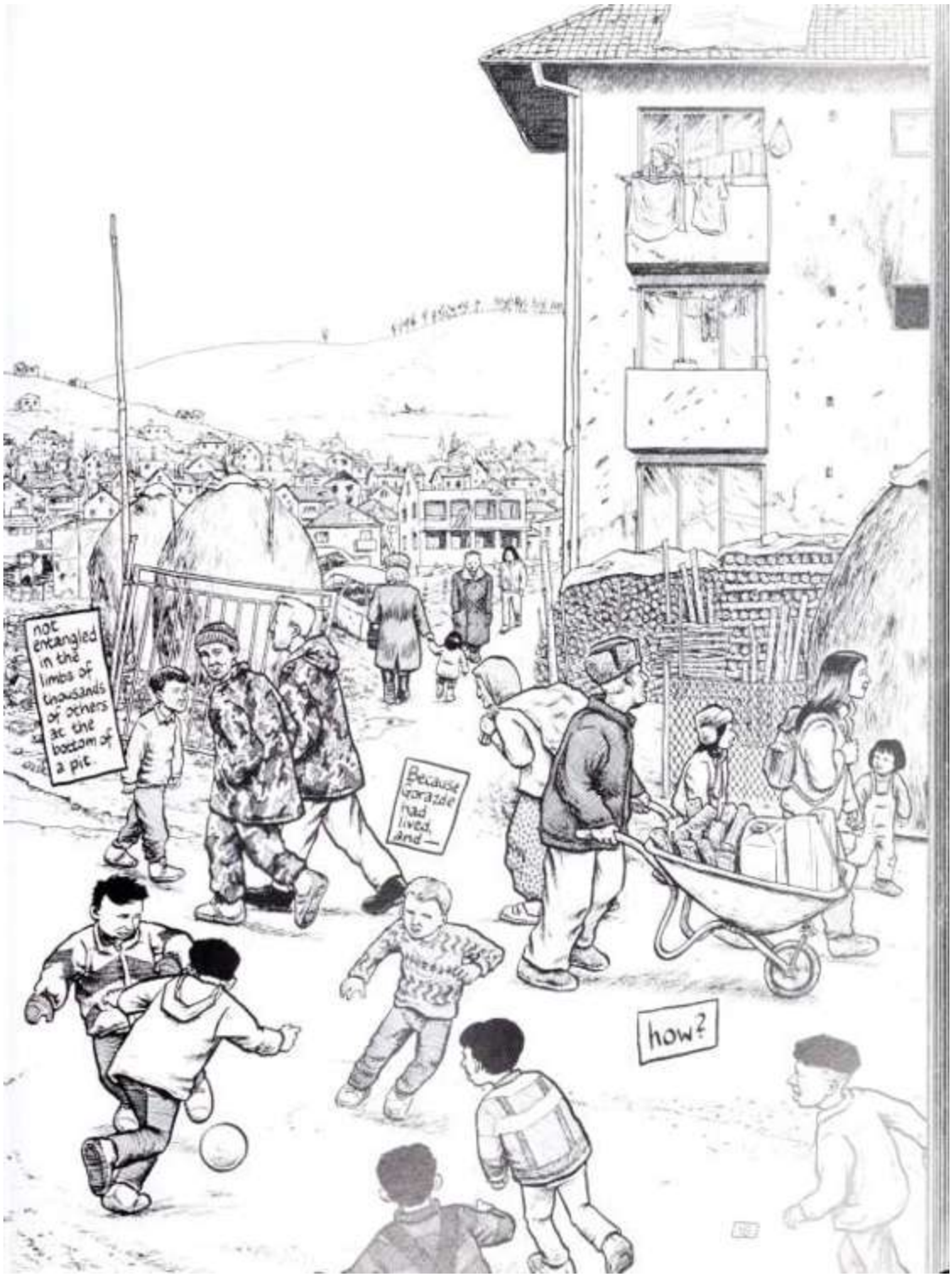
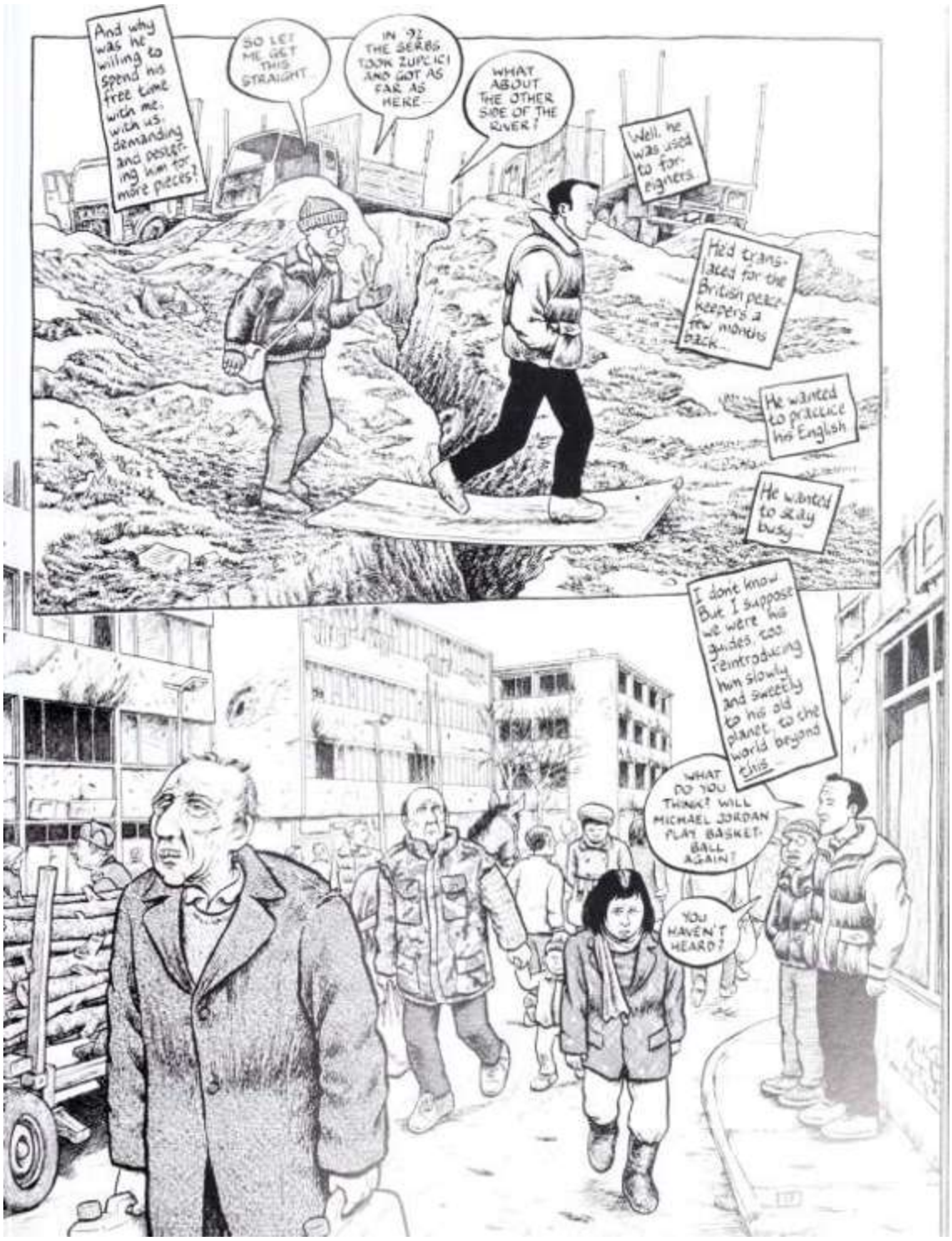
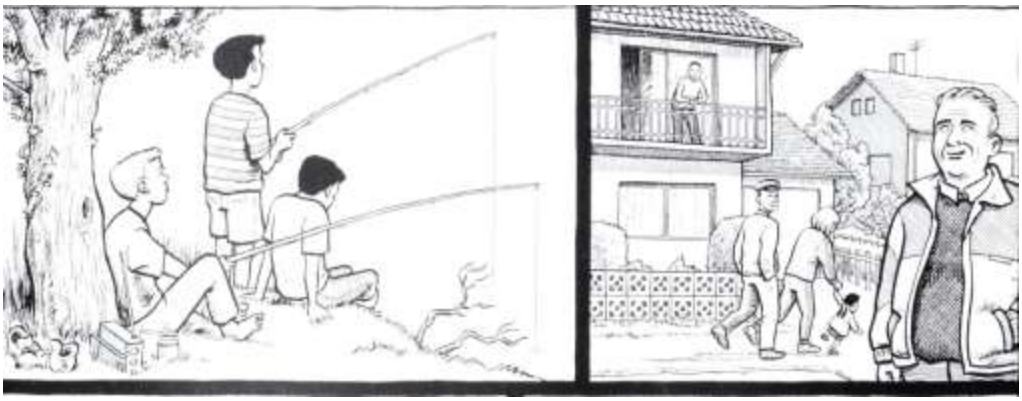

Why?
Because we're still here
not raped and scattered


not entangled in the limbs of thousands of others at the bottom of a pit.
Because paradise had lived, and—
how?

And I came back three times, and each time I sought out Edin to help me put the pieces of the story together.
And sometimes he showed me the pieces that were visible...
TRACKS IN THE ROAD WHERE A GREEN TANK HAD STOPPED AND TURNED
and sometimes he showed me the pieces hidden away...
FOOTBRIDGE UNDER THE SECOND BRIDGE BUILT TO SHIELD PEDESTRIANS FROM SNIPERS
and sometimes the pieces he showed me were his own...
THE CAR OF ONE OF HIS BEST FRIENDS KILLED ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE FIRST ATTACK ON SARAJEVO


And why was he willing to spend his free time with me, with us, demanding and assisting him for more pieces?
SO LET ME GET THIS STRAIGHT...
IN '92 THE SERBS TOOK ZUPCI AND GOT AS FAR AS HERE...
WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER?
Well, he was used to foreigners.
He'd translated for the British peacekeepers a few months back...
He wanted to practice his English
He wanted to stay busy...
I don't know. But I suppose we were his guides, too. reintroducing him slowly and sweetly to his old planet, to the world beyond this...
WHAT DO YOU THINK? WILL MICHAEL JORDAN PLAY BASKETBALL AGAIN?
YOU HAVEN'T HEARD?

"I didn't make anu, distinction between Serb, Croat, and Muslim children^We were always together..fishing,in forests, on the playground, the stadium..



"At one point, I was mostly with a Serb friend. He 'was at my house during the day During the evening hours.., if my mother wanted me to eat, shed I call him over and he'd eat with me...

"it was a mixed population here. On the left of <r\u house were Serbs, Ju^ross the street Muslims, on the right Muslims...

"I Spent all my life with [my Serb friends] Boban, Miro, Goran... 1 was drunk with them so many times. We were together at every party,at every place. We didn't make any distinction."

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*m>

\A oAecn Yugoslavia was fashioned AlAJout of the wreckage of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after World WarlE by the Communist resistance leader Josip Broz, better known as Tito.

Op the six Yugoslav republics constituted by Tito, Bosnia was the most ethnically diverse. It con-tamed large populations of Croats, Serbs, and Muslims Each of these

ethnic yroups has a particular history and

I Cultural background, but they are all South Slavs and speak essentially the same language Their chief distinguishing

| characteristic is religious

I Croats are Roman Catholics; Serbs are Orthodox Christians, and Muslims are

Igenerally descended from those Slavs who converted to Islam during a 500-year

1 Ottoman occupation.

Modern Yugoslavia was fashioned out of the wreckage of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after World War II by the Communist resistance leader Josip Broz, better known as Tito
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Slovenia
Croatia
Vojvodina
ROMANIA
Bosnia
Serbia
ADRIATIC SEA
Monte-negro
Kosovo
BULGARIA
Macedonia
ITALY
ALBANIA
GREECE
YUGOSLAVIA BEFORE THE BREAK-UP SHOWING THE REPUBLICS AND AUTONOMOUS AREAS
Of the six Yugoslav republics constituted by Tito, Bosnia was the most ethnically diverse. It contained large populations of Croats, Serbs, and Muslims. Each of these ethnic groups has a particular history and cultural background, but they are all South Slavs and speak essentially the same language. Their chief distinguishing characteristic is religious. Croats are Roman Catholics; Serbs are Orthodox Christians; and Muslims are generally descended from those Slavs who converted to Islam during a 500-year Ottoman occupation.
CROATIA
BIHAC
BANJA LUKA
DOBOJ
BRCKO
BIJELJINA
BOSNIA
TUZLA
JAJCE
TRAVNIK
VITEZ
ZENICA
IVOENIK
SERBIA
SREBRENICA
VISOKO
SARAJEVO
ZEPA
VIDEGRAD
ROGATICA
GORAZDE
FOCA
MOSTAR
Some of Bosnia's larger cities, like the capital Sarajevo, were particularly well mixed and enjoyed a rich and often touted spirit of tolerance.
Gorazde is in the Drina Valley in Eastern Bosnia, where villages and towns were populated predominantly by Muslims and Serbs.
MONTE-NEGRO

Some of Bosnia's anger cities, like the capital Sarajevo, were particularly well mixed, and enjoyed a rich and often touted spirit of tolerance.

SARAJEVO

More than half a million people lived in the Drma Valley accord inq to the 1991 census Of these, 51.7 percent were Muslim, 44.4 percent Serb.

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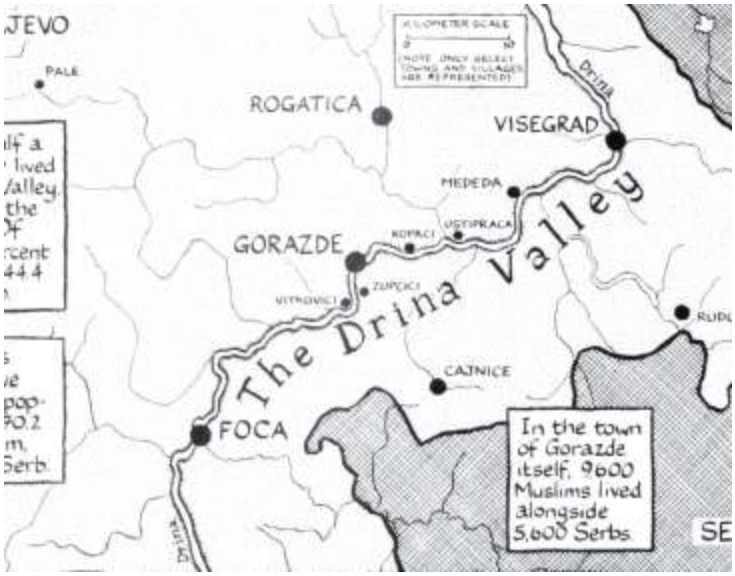
In G-OrAZde's

administrative district, the population was ?o.2 percent Muslim, 26-2 percent Serb



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In the town of Gora.zde • : itself, 9600 Muslims lived alongside 5,600 Serbs

mm

SERBIA

•■p ito maintained his policy of "brotherhood and unity" in Yugoslavia By Suppressing

overt Siqns of ethnic nationalism among the different Yugoslav peoples.

If Tito managed to create something of a [Yugoslav identity, he did SO without defusing lor allowing for an airing of the nationalities' grievances. Those grievances would be exploited by politiciansjockeying-for power \once President-for-Ufe TTto was ^one.

8kn

TITOS PEROD AMP POLICY, ACCORDING TO THE OPINION OF A LAROE NUM&ER OF PEOPLE, WAS A VERY NICE PERIOD WHICH WON'T BE REPEATED. IN GENERAL, MOST PEOPLE RECVRET THE END OF THIS PERIOD.

t*t£b>

IT or although Tito's rule was

authoritarian, in his Yugoslavia Croats, Serbs, and Muslims had lived together peacefully for half a century, and this after the extraordinary bloodletting between them in World Wartf.

More than a million Yugoslavs died in the war, mostly at the hands of other Yugoslavs.

\Y

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When the Axis powers occupied and dismembered] the Kingdom of Yugoslavia J in 1941, they installed Croatian fascists, the Ustasha, in their own state, which was expanded to include Bosnia. The fury with which the Ustasha carried out their qenoodal program of wholesale slaughter, forced religious conversion, and expulsion of the Serb population left even the Nazis aghast. Ustasha victims fed the ranks of two competing resistance groups, the Chetniks and the Partisans

■The Chetniks were a lsomewhat loose alliance of groups of Serb nationalists and royalists who typically sought the establishment of a ureater I Serbia cleansed of non-Serbs. The I Chetniks waged a ruthless war

against Bosnia's Croat and Muslim Citizenry, whom they viewed as Ustasha collaborators, and against the Partisans, whom

they saw as likely po$t-^xr hvals.

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The Partisans, the Communist resistance-force led by Tito, also were a predominantly Serb group (Tito himself was half-Croatian, half-Slovenian), butthe^ welcomed a growing number of Muslim and Croatian recruits as disillusionment with the Ustasha regime increased and Chetrnk outrages continued. The Partisans fjught a. .generally defensive war against Axis forces and waged an aggressive ca-mpaidn against the ChetnikS, whom they eventually crushed.

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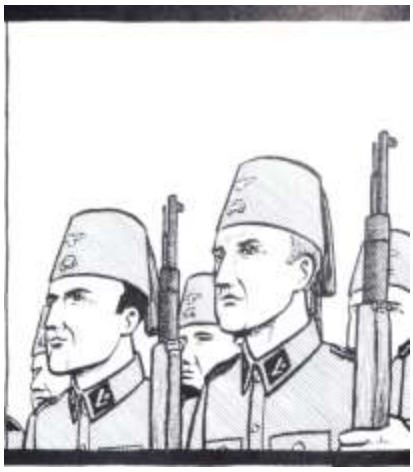
Bosnias Muslims could be found \on al I sides of the conflict. A few even allied themselves with the Chetniks. Others joined m

the Ustasha persecution of the Serbs. Several thousand I volunteered with the Grermans for a Muslim S S. ! division which carried out anti-Serb atrocities.



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As chaos spread, some Muslims -formed auton- I Hundreds of thousands of Serbs wens killed in omous defense units {or protection against aryBthe war, mostly by the Ustasha, but the Mus-

and all threats, and in Greater and qreater Inumbers Muslims jomea the multi-ethnic Par Itisans, which led -to more Chetmk reprisals.

Iims lost a qreater percentage of their population, mostly in Chetnik attacks and massacres, many of which took place in Eastern Bosnia.

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THERE WAS PLENTY OF KILLiMci iM|

THE WAP., MUSUlMS sy

CHETNIKS.

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They were cominq and Qoinq whenever theu. liked, m small yroups burnino houses, killing people, raping women... Muslims in this area did not have anything to defend themselves with.

.£*vi

"The Chetniks raped and slaughtered... SO many of mu cousins and Muslims in this area. The worst things happened in Foca. The village of mu ■famiTq, Bucje ...o\er the River Drma, the

JChetniks com-pletelu blew up.

land whomever

they found they killed We're talking about

'the men...

"When people I heard that Ithese groups I were coming,

as fast as

possible they I were hiding

themselves or I escaping somewhere. Mg

grandfather

hid himself

with the help

of his wife I for nearly one 1 gear unoer I the cows' shed

in the ground.

j "In that time, Muslims...escaped from Crorazde... I "meg organized themselves in groups and ran I from one place to the other because of the j traitors, the Chetniks and the Ustasha. Mg grandparents were able to go to Brcko and Visoko.

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"My grandfather and grandmother sometimes triecTto explain to me what happened during World War IT, but 1 did not listen, or listened with one ear."

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Whit and I brought up-the possibility that his cjovernoient miijht swap Gorazde £»r a chunk of Serb -territory around Sarajevo.

WE SHOULD NOT GIVE UP OOftAZPE fOfc AMV OTHER PART OF

BOSNIA

As well as I opt to know Poki, and as many times as J asWed, he remained ret.cent about his experiences <n ow-bat. "That day we fre t met he told me as much as ne ever */ould^ -7- L HAve '

SEEN MANY

HORRIBLE

THINGS

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THEY

/HAVE A(2TIL- Yj« LERY, TANKS, All, LOT Of WEAPONS-

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WE

r HAVE THIN

I SAW s/ MANY PEOPLE KILLEP, PARTSj of PEOPLE.

';J&

HORRIBLE THINGS-

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["[he ne*t nU}ht,| Iftiki invited

\st named Senf, and me-to,"' 5 J

served po^^i rnffee and wave

SSSanSPeaal-

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[Afterwards, J K<U< ran [through everJ [k^esPoorj/ and Stones JSonq he knew

Fdidnt./Yera.

I cai/forma'

]two or three [titles...

Bosnia, yt>o,asa

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/f^fc to* [gfe» off,.

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GlfcL 1 HAVE

EVER.

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I HAVE A SONG FOR YOU—
WO WO YAY YAY I LOVE YOU MORE THAN I CAN SAY, I'LL LOVE YOU TWICE AS MUCH TOMORROW WO WO...

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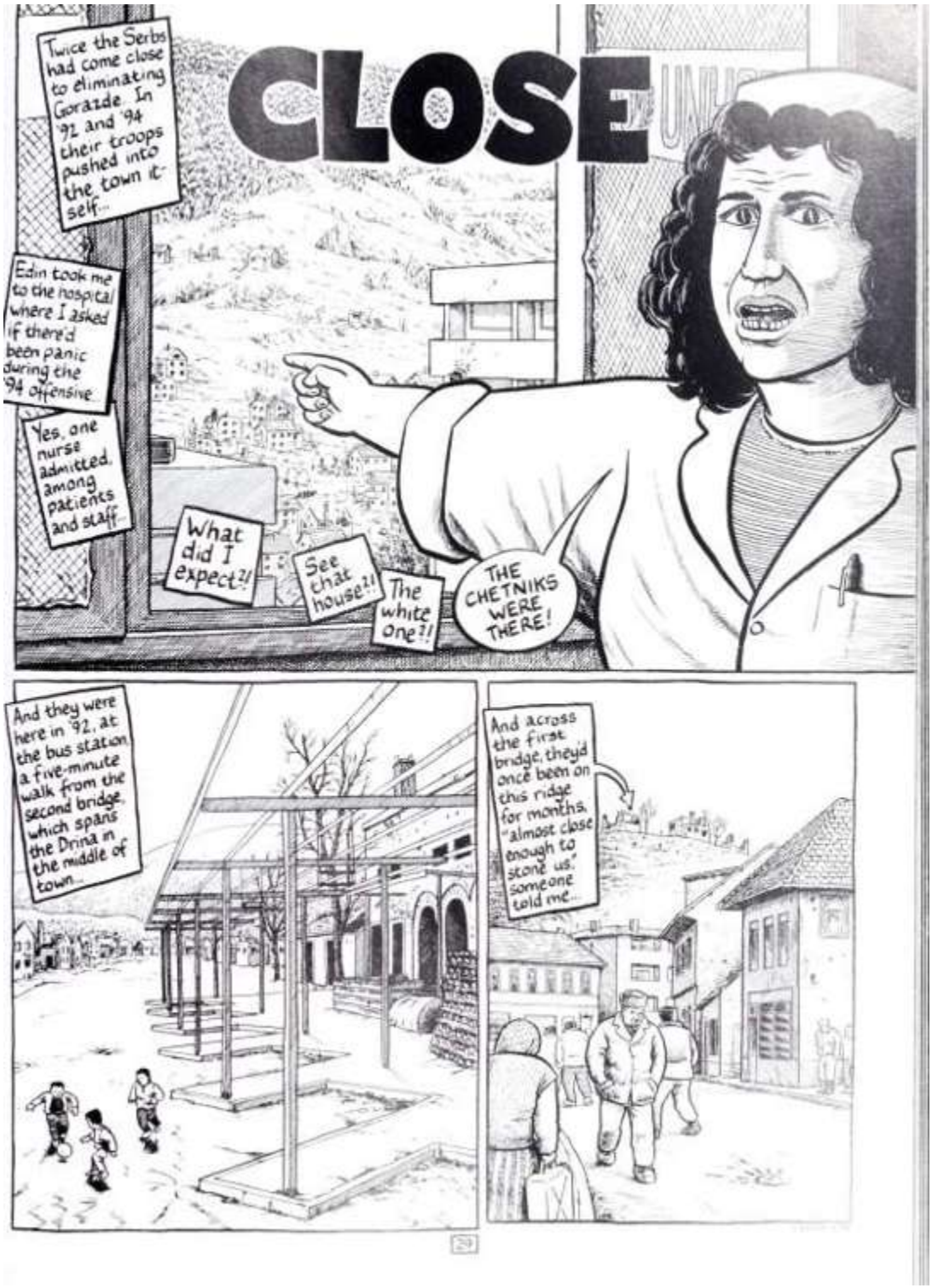
CLOSE
Twice the Serbs had come close to eliminating Gorazde. In '92 and '94 their troops pushed into the town it-self...
Edin took me to the hospital where I asked if there'd been panic during the '94 offensive.
Yes, one nurse admitted, among patients and staff.
What did I expect?!
See that house?!
The white one?!
THE CHETNIKS WERE THERE!
And they were here in '92, at the bus station, a five-minute walk from the second bridge, which spans the Drina in the middle of town...
And across the first bridge, they'd once been on this ridge for months, "almost close enough to stone us," someone told me...

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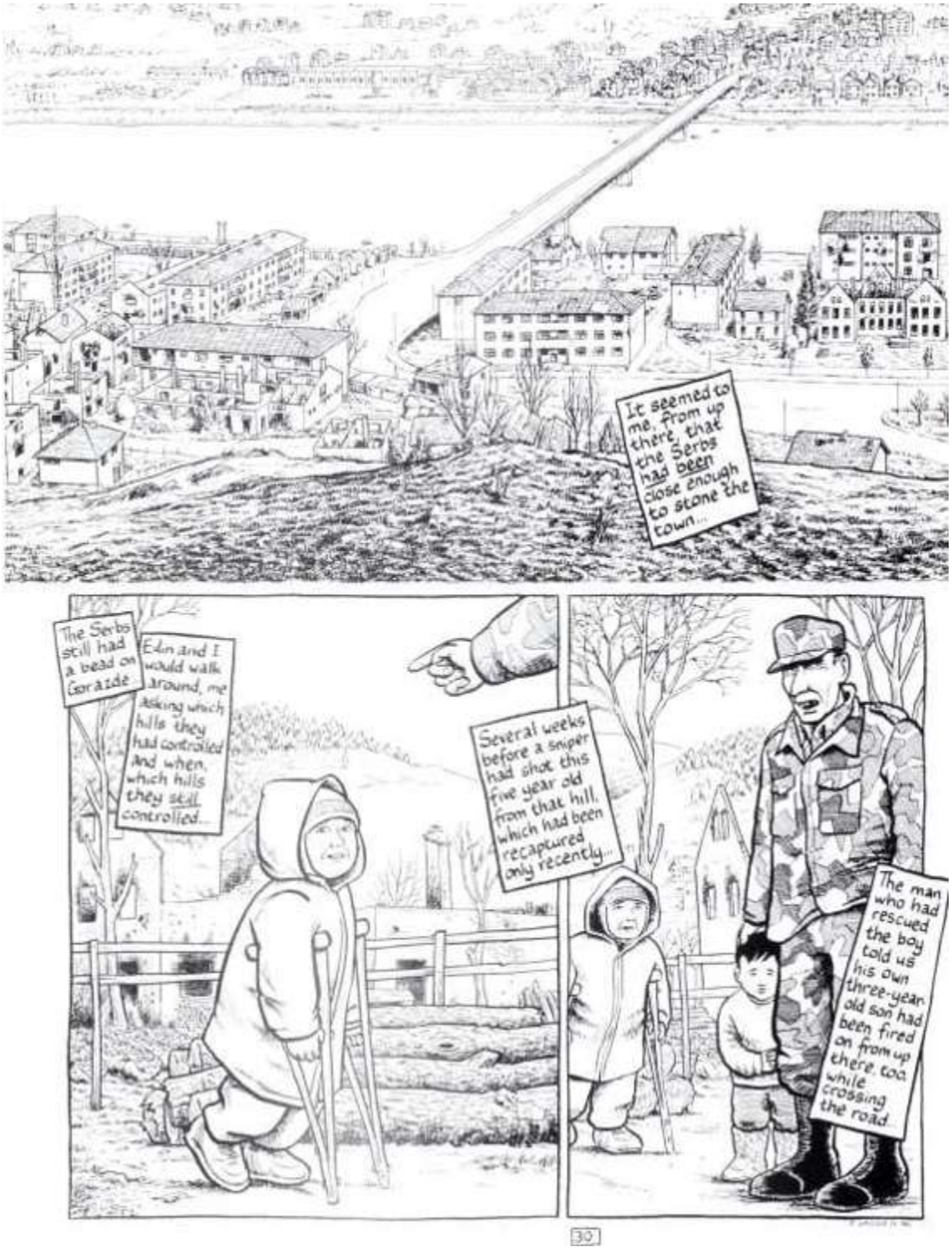
It seemed to me, from up there, that the Serbs had been close enough to stone the town...
The Serbs still had a bead on Gorazde.
Edin and I would walk around, me asking which hills they had controlled and when, which hills they still controlled...
Several weeks before a sniper had shot this five year old from that hill, which had been recaptured only recently...
The man who had rescued the boy told us his own three-year-old son had been fired on from up there, too, while crossing the road...

This woman, a refugee from Rudo, told us: 'All last summer till these last days, it wasn't possible to go from here.'
THEY WERE SHOOTING SNIPERS FROM HERE, FROM THERE
She lived with her husband in one room made habitable in an abandoned burned-out house
The house was so close to the checkpoint unmediately behind the front line that the soldiers there had complained they could hear her nagging and had told her to cut it out. But she hadn't been nagging, she said, she'd raised her voice because her husband was nearly deaf...

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^S^T;/ \ BECAUSE MY HUS-81 0* VZZ**~X BAND CAN HARDLY

ing you, it wasn't up to code. To get to it, you had to climb up-stairs and cross a room whose floor seemed ready to give way.
After the Serbs had come through in '94, they set the place on fire.
WE ESCAPED JUST AHEAD OF THEM. WE HAD TO STOP EVERY 15 MINUTES BECAUSE MY HUSBAND CAN HARDLY WALK
AND THERE WASN'T ANY ROOM DOWNTOWN THERE WAS NO SPACE IN THE REFUGEE CENTERS I LOOKED A LOT OF TIMES THERE
Her neighborhood, Kokino Selo ("Chicken Village"), was home to refugees from all over eastern Bosnia who had escaped to Gorazde and found space to live only at its devastated fringes...
Edin was one of Kokino Selo's original inhabitants. He and his family lived three houses from the checkpoint, on the fringe of Gorazde's fringes...
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f^i^S: \rdom downtown

i^^OTMERE WAS NO ^iS^SPACE IN THE

REFU&EE CENTERS I LOOKED A LOT

OF Times

THERE

^cj the waxj. I'd moved in with £din and made his place home base on my Visits. Ituthotell -told you about? A war-wne racket; (fan-ino in there to boot! fcdins house at least, had one heated room and plenty of couch space.

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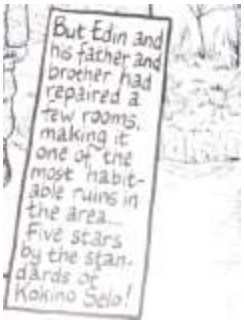
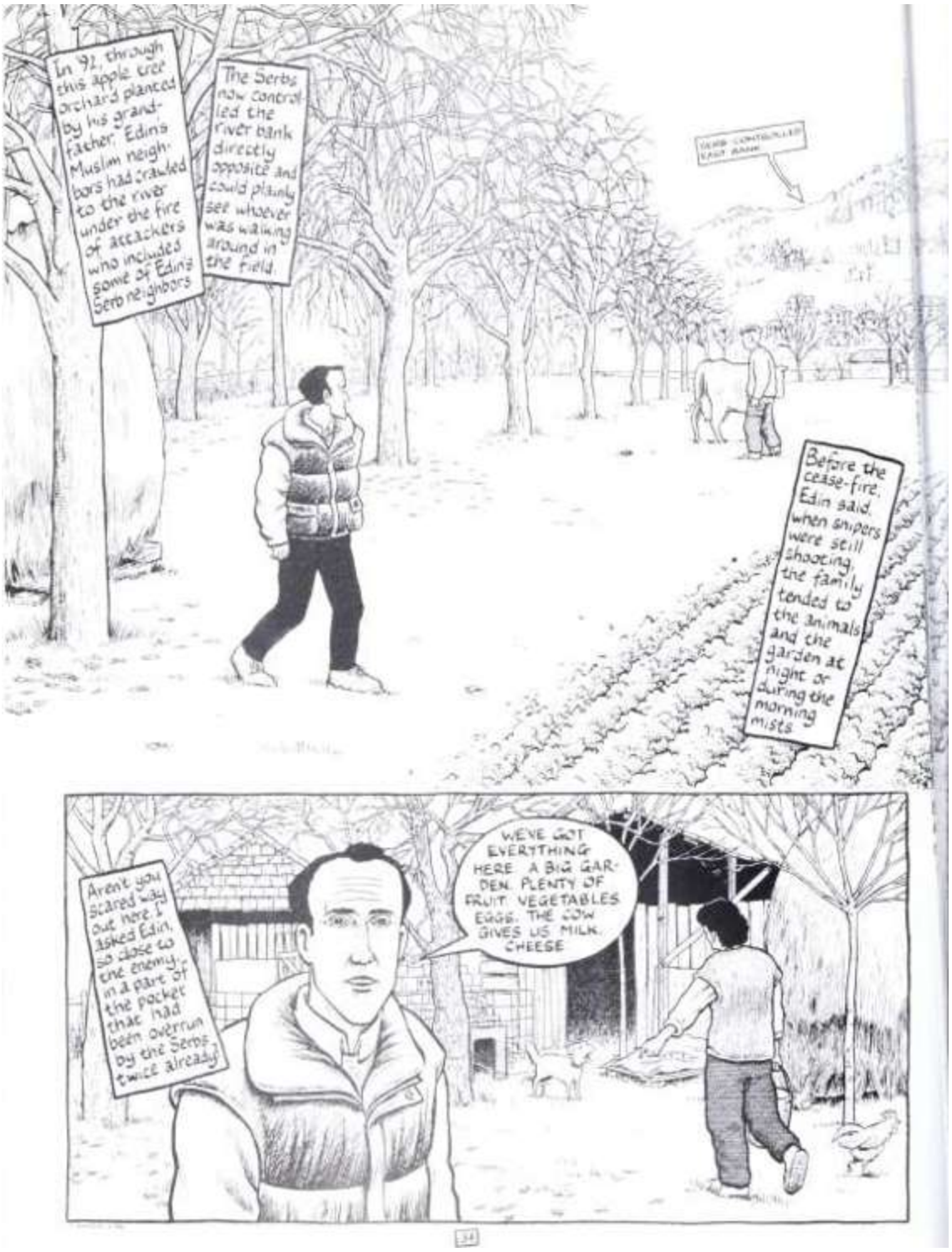
Actually, Edin's place was mostly a shambles. It had been torched by his Serb neighbors.
But Edin an his father an brother had repaired a few rooms, making it one of the most habit-able ruins in the area... Five stars by the stan-

i-':^r

V ^^^jlntheback, v;'.\ \ -Nyi the familu

*' field stretch^ I downwards I-from the I (house to the IPrinanver... I


But Edin and his father and brother had repaired a few rooms, making it one of the most habitable ruins in the area... Five stars by the standards of Kokino Selo!


In 92, through this apple tree orchard planted by his grandfather, Edin's Muslim neighbors had crawled to the river under the fire of attackers who included some of Edin's Serb neighbors
The Serbs now controlled the river bank directly opposite and could plainly see whoever was walking around in the field.
Before the cease-fire, Edin said, when snipers were still shooting, the family tended to the animals and the garden at night or during the morning mists.
Aren't you scared way out here? I asked Edin, so close to the enemy, in a part of the pocket that had been overrun by the Serbs twice already?
WE'VE GOT EVERYTHING HERE. A BIG GARDEN. PLENTY OF FRUIT. VEGETABLES. EGGS. THE COW GIVES US MILK. CHEESE.

Jesiree, you couldnt bear the fresh produce at Edins.
I had 2 make
Anything else?
didnt mind if I did!
his mother piled it on!
One evening, while Edin and I were sitting around digesting she rushed in from the balcony. She could hear the Serbs singing across the river.
Two or three times, Edin told me his old Serb neighbors had called to him from the other bank...
THEY WERE ASKING, "HOW IS YOUR FAMILY? WHAT IS THE CONDITION OF OUR HOUSES. WHO IS LIVING IN THEM NOW?"
Did you answer?
NO
I HAD NO INTEREST TO SPEAK WITH THEM
Edin and I stepped out there but couldn't hear a thing.

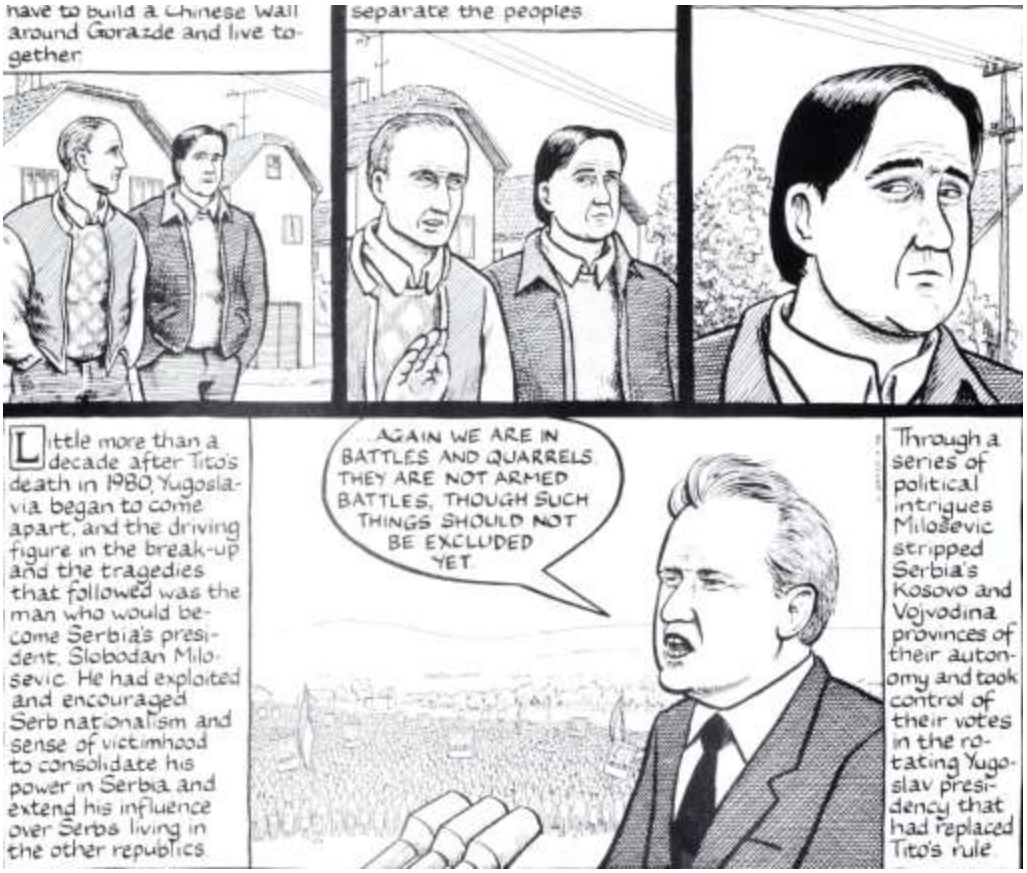
Disinte-
gration
A NEIGHBOR FROM CHILDHOOD, A SERB FRIEND... JUST A FEW DAYS BEFORE EVERY-THING STARTED HE SAID, 'WHAT DO YOU THINK? HOW CAN THIS PROB-LEM BE SOLVED?'

A NEIGHBOR. FROM CHILDHOOD, A SERB FRIEND.JuST A FEW PAYS BEFORE EVERYTHING^ STARTER HE SAID, 'WHAT DO YOU THINK? HOV CAN THIS PROBLEM BE SOLVED?'

1 told him the only solution was to stay together., that we have to butTd a Chinese Wall around Gorazde and live to-9ether

"He said we can't live together that the only solution is to separate the peoples

I understood then their aim was to clear this area."


have to build a Chinese Wall around Gorazde and live together
separate the peoples
Little more than a decade after Tito's death in 1980, Yugoslavia began to come apart, and the driving figure in the break-up and the tragedies that followed was the man who would become Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic. He had exploited and encouraged Serb nationalism and sense of victimhood to consolidate his power in Serbia and extend his influence over Serbs living in the other republics.
AGAIN WE ARE IN BATTLES AND QUARRELS. THEY ARE NOT ARMED BATTLES, THOUGH SUCH THINGS SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED YET.
Through a series of political intrigues Milosevic stripped Serbia's Kosovo and Vojvodina provinces of their autonomy and took control of their votes in the rotating Yugoslav presidency that had replaced Tito's rule.

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Slovenia and

Croatia, their own nationalism roused and wary of Milosevic's growing power declared their independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. Slovenia, which did not have a significant Serb population, was permitted to leave the federation after a ten-day confUct In Croatia, however, a brutal war broke

out as a large Serb minority —whose interests and sensitivities had been run roughshod by the Croatian leadership— | carved out its own stare let

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In this they were supported by Milosevic and the heavy guns of the JNA (Yugoslav People's Army), which had evolved from a federal institution into an instrument for achieving a Greater Serbia, a state that would encompass Serbs living beyond Serbia's borders.
In the territory they consolidated, the Serbs brutally cleansed themselves of Croatian civilians.
The Serbs were convinced they were preempting their own victimization by what they perceived to be a resurgent Ustasha state. Their nationalist leaders had used the ethnic crimes of the past to fuel a new cycle of ethnic violence in order to shatter the notion of "brotherhood and unity" forever.

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the notion of "brotherhood and. unity'forever

Bosnia was now at a crossroads. It could remain | Im a rump Yugoslavia consisting of a chauvinistic

dominant Serbia and Serbia's close ally Montenegro or seek independence and risk its own war

fill

■

jLOVENIA \

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gagi Yugoslav republics |

; M THAT ACHIEVED INIPE-■■ PENDENCE IN 1991

In Bosnia's -first free election in 1990,

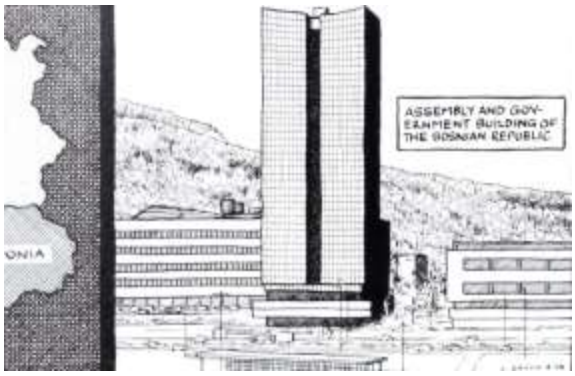
voters mostly had cast their ballots along j ethnic lines, bringing three nationalist I parties to power" These parties formed !a coalition government but worked toward different ends "The Serb party (SDS) I wanted Bosnia to remain in Yugoslavia;

the Croat (hdz) a.nd Muslim (SDA) parties

wanted Bosnia to breakaway.

□ rump Yugoslavia! im EARLY 1992

MACEDONIA



ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT BUILDING OP THE BOSNIAN REPUBLIC

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The man named to head Bosnia's rotatmy presidency was Alija IzetbeJovic, who was also reader of the "Muslim party.

1 WOULD SACRIFICE

PEACE FOR A SOVEREIG-N

BOSNlA-HERZESOViNA,

BUT FOR. THAT PEACE I

WOULD NOT SACRIFICE

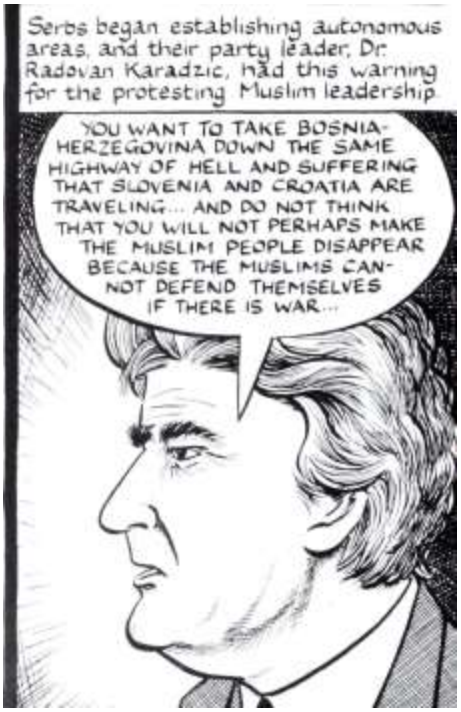
SOVEREIGNTY.

"lip

Brushing aside arguments that an independent Bosnia could remain an inclusive, multi-ethnic society, the Serb party stoked fears amony Serbs that they would be liviny as a minority dominated by Muslims who were bent on creating 3un Islamic republic. Despite the fact that the ethnic groups were largely intermingled, the SD5 arqued that only an ethnic division of Bosnia would avert war

Serbs began establishing autonomous areas, and their party leader, Dr. Radovan Karadz-ic, had this warnmy {or the protesting Muslim leadership.

YOU WANT TO TAKE BOSNIA-HERZEOOVINA DOWM THE SAME HIGHWAY OF HELL AND SUFFERING-THATSLOv£NIA AND CROATIA ARE TRAVELlNCr... AND DO NOT THINK THAT YOU WILL NOT PERHAPS MAKE THE MUSLIM PEOPLE DISAPPEAR BECAUSE THE MUSLIMS CANNOT DEFENJD THEMSELVES IF THERE IS WAR-


Serbs began establishing autonomous areas, and their party leader, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, had this warning for the protesting Muslim leadership.
YOU WANT TO TAKE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA DOWN THE SAME HIGHWAY OF HELL AND SUFFERING THAT SLOVENIA AND CROATIA ARE TRAVELING... AND DO NOT THINK THAT YOU WILL NOT PERHAPS MAKE THE MUSLIM PEOPLE DISAPPEAR BECAUSE THE MUSLIMS CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES IF THERE IS WAR...

■■■ I

HIS WORDS AMD 'MANNERS ILLUSTRATE WHY r OTHERS REFUSE TO STAY IN THIS YUGOSLAVIA. NOBODY ELSE WANTS THE KIND OF JUGOSLAVIA THAT MR. KARADZIC WANTS ANY MORE. NOBODY EXCEPT PERHAPS THE SERBS

"The SDS left the Bosnian assembly and established its [own Serb parliament. The Bosnian qovernment, meanwhile, con-| tinued to pursue Sovereignty, andthe European Community recognized Bosnia as independent on April b, 1992. "That niyht, the separatist Serbs declared their own independent state, which they later called Republika Srpska.

I WANT TO TELL THE CITIZENS OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA NOT TO BE AFRAID, BECAUSE THERE WILL BE NO WAR...

THEREFORE, SLEEP PEACEFULLY.

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I SPENT FIVE YEARS AT THE COLLEGE 0* SARAJEVO] I HEARD THERE WOULD BE TROUBLE. IF THERE WOULD BE WAR, I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER. IF I WERE WITH MY PARENTS. L TOOK A BUS AND CAME BACK TO GOPAZDE.

*?

1 had ci good Serb friend living wee houses •from me. He was with me eiqht uears aethg primary school. I called him. I asked if we could go out to-gether.

'-P#V

NO, IT'S NOT POSSIBLE. MAYBE. ANOTHER

Time... I can't

GO WITH rou.

MY PEOPLE

will Point AT

ME.

OKAY, IF YOU DON'T WANT TO GO WITH ME, NEVER MIND, BUT 1 WANT US TO 6£ OOOP NEIaH^ BORS.

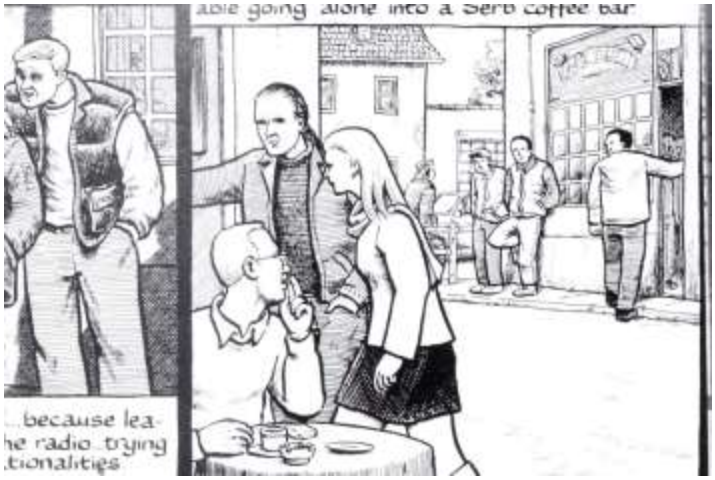
I'ln mu neighborhood, there were [guards with arms, [together Muslims land Serbs because it wasn't safe. Any-I thing was possible Maybe somebody would come from outside, from Vise-grad, from another part of town and kill my Serb neighbor They would I think a Muslim neighbor had done that.

"Or maybe somebody would come and kill a Muslim, and Huslimsl would think | it was by a i Serb neighbor It was better that I w£ would., patrol the neighborhood together.overl the night.

Every day it was the same, ordinary life, [but it was possible to -peel something in the air — -trouble.

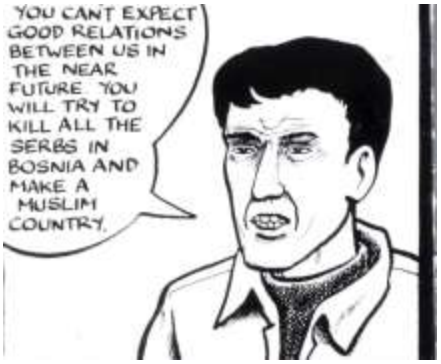
Every day tensions increased...because lea-Iders of this town aryued on the radio ..trymy to find a solution for both nationalities

'In some coffee bars, a.\\ the people were Muslim, and 15 meters away another coffee bar was full of t>erbs....I didn't feel comfortable yoiny alone into a Serb coffee bar



1 asked a lot of Serbs ...good fnends, others...for [the reason, .and always it was answered, 'Why don't you want to live with us m the same courttr^, ith Monteneyro and Serbia?'

"My friend said to me —


YOU CANT EXPECT GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN US IN THE NEAR FUTURE YOU WILL TRY TO KILL ALL THE SERBS IN BOSNIA AND MAKE A MUSLIM COUNTRY.

YOU CANT EX.FE.CT GOOP RELATIONS BETWEEN US IN THE NEAR.

future you

WILL TRY TO KILL ALL THE SERBS IN BOSNIA AND MAKE A MUSLIM COUNTRY

"I told him that wasn't true, and if it was true, I didn't want to live in a. Muslim country.

WmrnmM i

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"The last days before the war you d\drit hear; 'Hello, how are you, neiyhbor?' "

>Tfe

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\7/jar broke Out in north-■ ' I eastern Bosnia in the towns of Bijelji'na and Zvornik in early April 1992. In a pattern already es-tabiished in Croatia, paramilitary groups from Serbia Milosevic's JNJA, and local Serb nationaiists beqan ethnically cleansing areas of their non-Serb inhabitants The Bosnian government was totally unprepared to fight a war and further hampered by a Standing U.N. arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia.

The Serb bombardment of Sarajevo had bequn, but uorazde was still quiet.

BEFORE

the war 1 saw a lot of serbs putting their families on buses to belgrade, and 1 said to my husband, 'something is going

HAPPEN

ht

"^^

NO, DONT BE FOOLISH, THERE WONT BE ANYTHING THERE IS GOING TO BE NO WAR HERE.

An >

I was worUtnq. in a factory and I asked my manager who was a Serb, 'is something yojnq to happen? Have you sent your f^mty somewhere?'

I wish I HAD A PLACE TO SEND THEM—I

~7>

BECAUSE THERE IS IGOING TO BE NO LIFE

{together BETWEEN serbs anp muslims, not Just here in

GORAZPE, But EVERYWHERE IN BOSNIA. ^ r

We hadquards in our neighborhood..to keep out infiltrators. One of those guards saw a Serb neighbor.. ItaWinq crates ofyuns from a. truck and puttmy them| into his cellar

>M

SO, IF YOU CAN, SEND

your. family | anywhere, just to be safe.

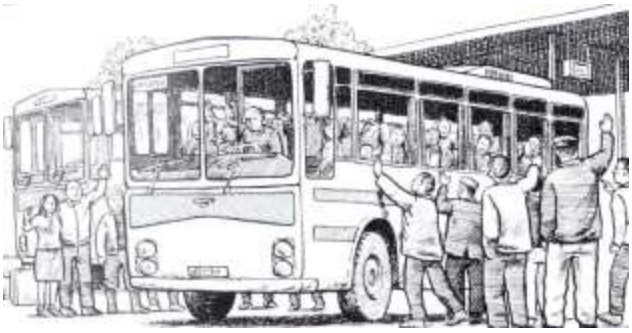
* *- fl»

mmmmmmm

I" But he said the crates had meatH'After that the Muslims of the neighborhood had a meet-l land cheese for the market, not Biny and decided to remove their families to Sarajevo. . to be afraid.

We went in buses, p

(The daughter and son-in-law of Ithatquy later turned out to be snipers in Crorazde)



"We came to a Jfs/A checkpoint m Ustipraca, and ...they [checked our documents and our luggage and let us 30.

TFT^

^T~

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V

1

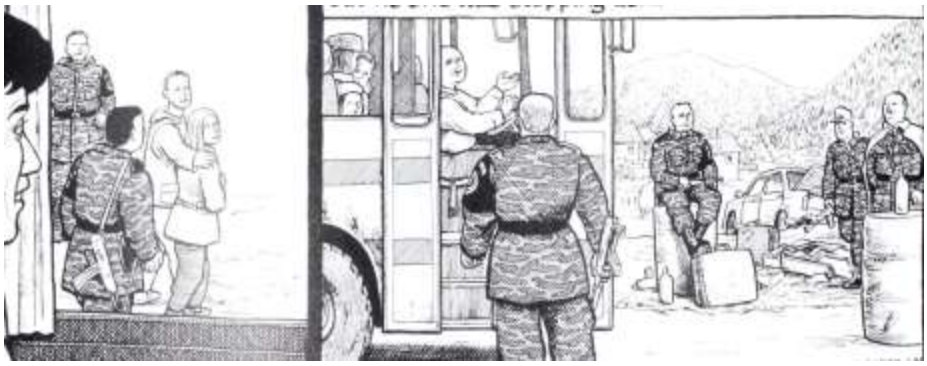
"When we got to Rogatica Serb police checked us again and let us go.

"In the center of town we were stopped aqam. Again they entered—the Serb police—and asked for our documents.

It

They saw a young couple,a husband and wife. They took them from the bus... They ne\/er came back.

"Our driver was a Serb, so we decided to col lect money and give it to him so that hed manage that no I one would stop us again So there were checkpoints, but no one was stopping us....



I Only at Sokolac, one yuy from Arkan'sunit*. entered and asked for documents.

L&.

He saw my mothers ir> was from Viseyrad.

DO YOU "^^^NOT OWE HAVE A HOUSE) / TWO

IN a8S?i A houses.

.$■'

*?

WHAT IF r SOM£ONl

Burns your houses?

I Think i was

good with all my

neighbors, and

no one will

Burn my

HOUSES

' HOPEFULLY THERE ARE '^ v - • STILL PEOPLE LIKE THAT.

'We continued and all the forest around the roa.<i I was full of Chetniks and JNA soldiers. They were

together

Ifh X - - •.-«-«.,■-

Xr ,

'So mu mother said to mu son, 'Hide behind the curtains of the bus, and if they ask how old you 3Lce., say you are II..."

WH1?

BECAUSE 'THEY CAN fAKEl YOU FROM THE BUS

"I couldn't believe it when we came to Sarajevo, when 1 put my foot on the qround. . I said, 'Dear God, has it finally happened that we are saved?'

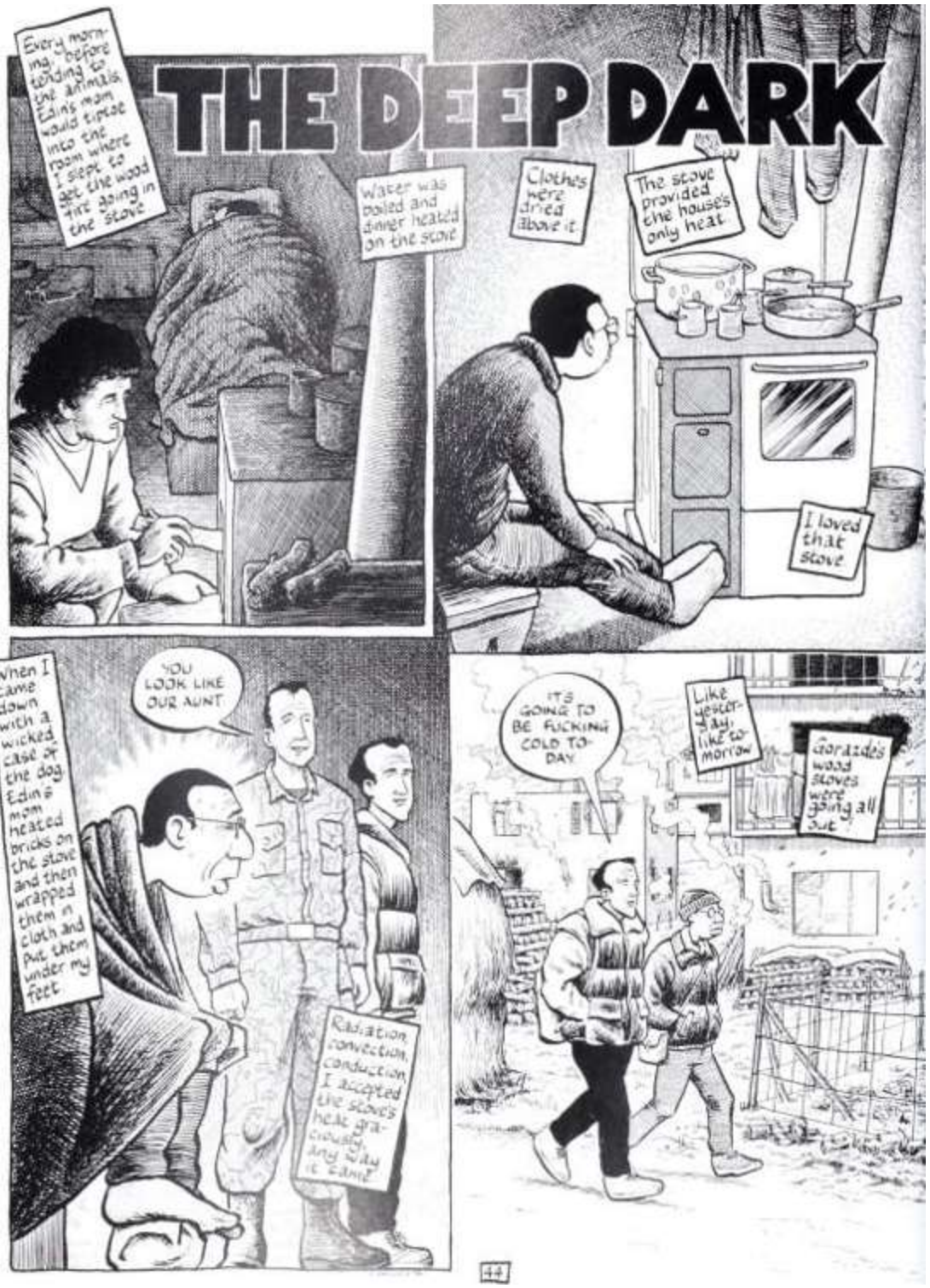
I- •?

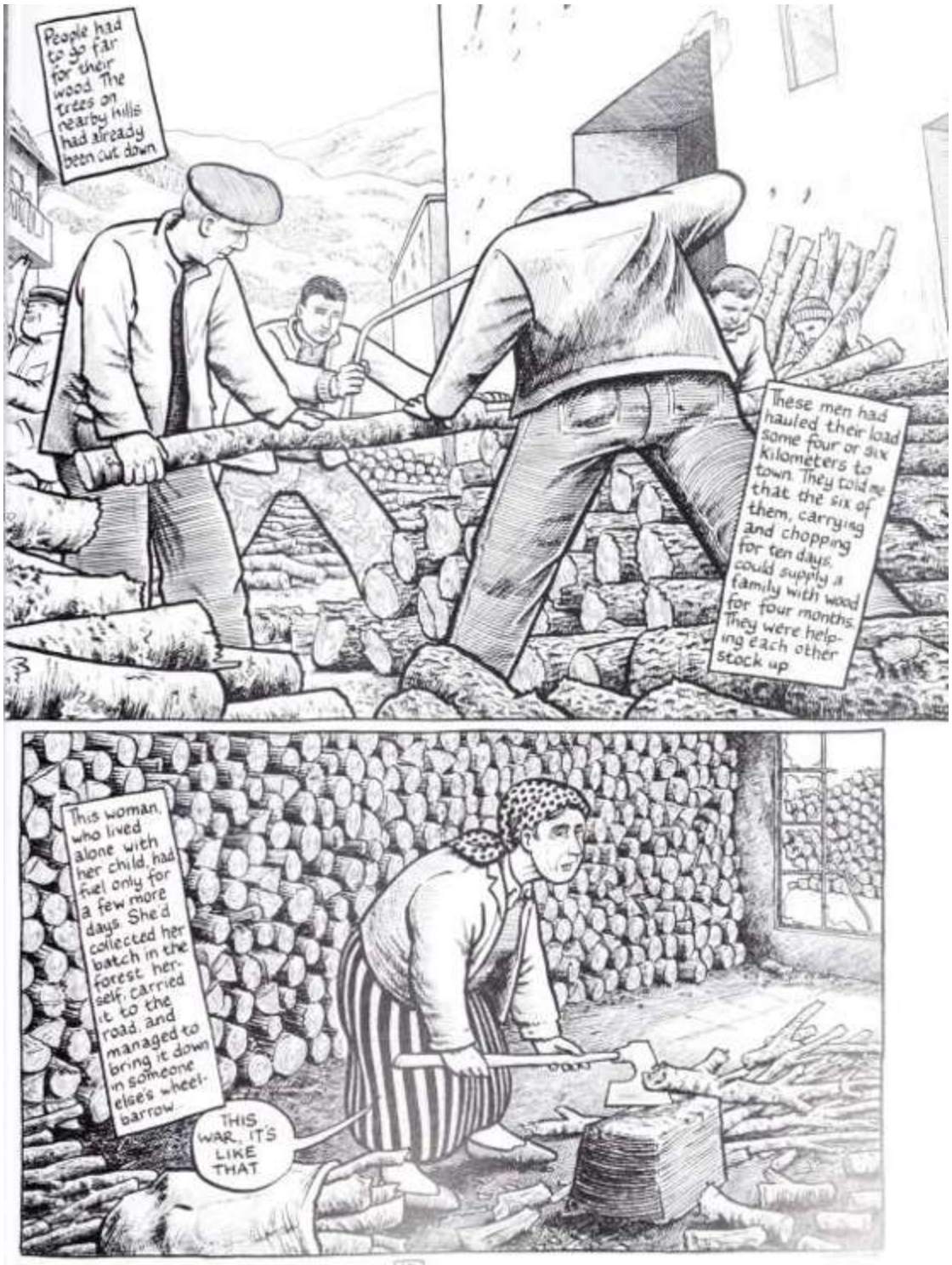
f,("

"Vie went to a relative of ours... After that house was shelled we moved to a refugee center.

17 ;—i—M .id tl ,i.iri

" Then the first list of killed people from Gorazde came, and the first name on the list was my husband's."


THE DEEP DARK
Every morning before tending to the animals Edna's mom would tiptoe into the room where I slept to get the wood fire going in the stove
Water was boiled and dinner heated on the stove
Clothes were dried above it
The stove provided the house's only heat
I loved that stove
When I came down with a wicked case of the dog Edna's mom heated bricks on the stove and then wrapped them in cloth and put them under my feet
YOU LOOK LIKE OUR AUNT
Radiation convection conduction I accepted the stove's heat graciously any way it came
IT'S GONNA BE FUCKING COLD TODAY
Like yesterday, like tomorrow
Garaides wood stoves were going all out
44


People had to go far for their wood. The trees on nearby hills had already been cut down
These men had hauled their load some four or six kilometers to town. They told me that the six of them, carrying and chopping for ten days, could supply a family with wood for four months. They were helping each other stock up
This woman, who lived alone with her child, had fuel only for a few more days. She'd collected her batch in the forest herself, carried it to the road, and managed to bring it down in someone else's wheelbarrow.
THIS WAR, IT'S LIKE THAT

The civil authorities used to consider that older couple in Kokino Selo priority one for firewood disbursement. But they'd been dropped to priority three and now received none
Fortunately, a young neighbor was helping out
The first fall snows had come and with them an ever-present sound of chopping and sawing

The sound conspicuously absent in Gorazde was traffic. And in that way at least, after the noise (and speed and belching fumes) of Sarajevo, Gorazde almost did seem like a safe area.
Only 10 vehicles were still in operation—not counting those coming with convoys and belonging to relief organizations—according to the district's Secretary of Industry. Before the war, he said, the town had 9,000 registered vehicles. He estimated that 80 percent had been destroyed. The rest were stored away for safer times when fuel would be readily available.
If it now seemed strangely pre-industrial, the Gorazde area once provided 10,000 factory jobs.
But those workplaces were gone. The outlying chemical, cement, and heavy machinery plants had been destroyed, for example, and a textile factory was a ruin housing refugees.
In addition Gorazde had been without running water or electricity since the wars beginning. The Visegrad hydroelectric plant was in Serb hands.

But those workplaces were cone. The out-Ujmq chemical, cement, and neayy machinery plants had been destroyed, {or example, and a textile factory was a ruin houstru) refugees.

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l-Edin ca/tedl the blackness "the deep dark.

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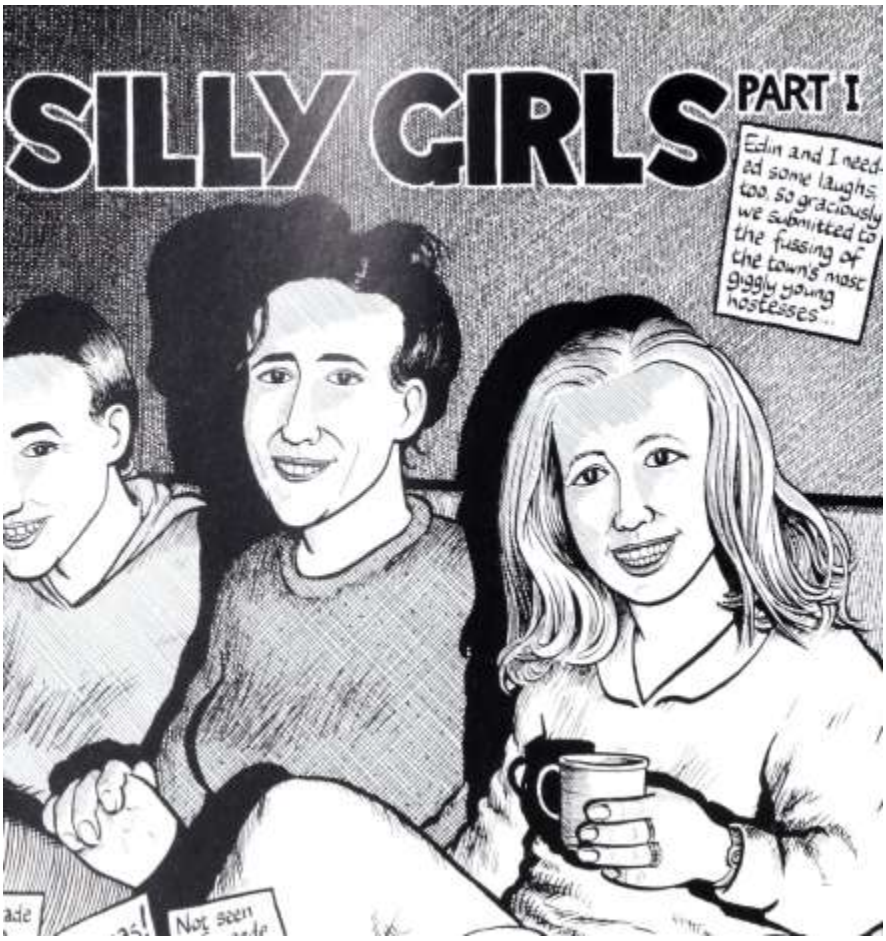
M9On this occa-' "ision, Edin'5 ^jfA brother re jjJUJi
^^m^^frn'W^^M^"iTSU^ branches)^"

Jtl %ite tfsSft- • i§# did divert P

that the differential

$ears weren't turnino we//..

and discovered that the differential gears weren't turning well...
WE CAN'T WATCH A VIDEO NEVER MIND. WE STILL HAVE SOME ELEC-TRICITY.
that they'd have a hell of a time getting it back up-stream then.
YES! YOU'RE RIGHT ABOUT THAT!
We had a good laugh...
Edin and I were always having a good laugh about some-thing.
19


SILLY GIRLS
PART I
Edin and I needed some laughs, too, so graciously we submitted to the fussing of the town's most giggly young hostesses...

^#

• VJfsfc*' ^ gj ^ VLL

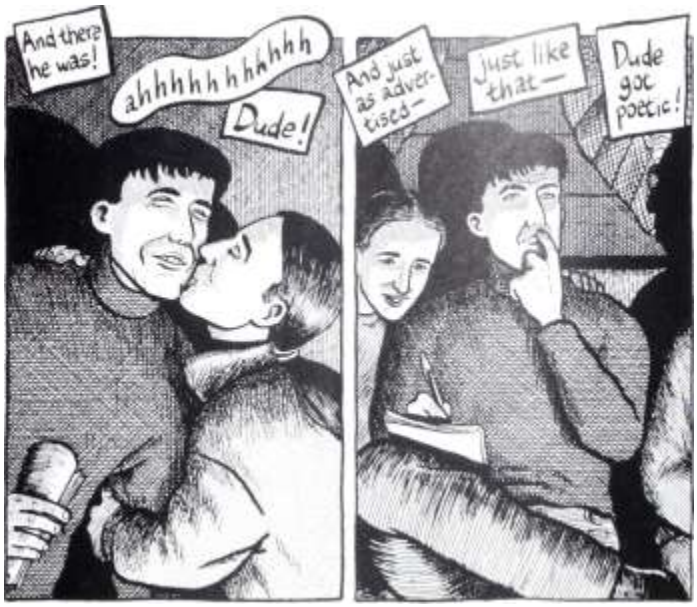
7jG&£Kl Jf?, YV I KNOW

WMfik 0^--' l\ M MAKE. LUNCH,

m/Mm^l'.^\ y \ and i kmow

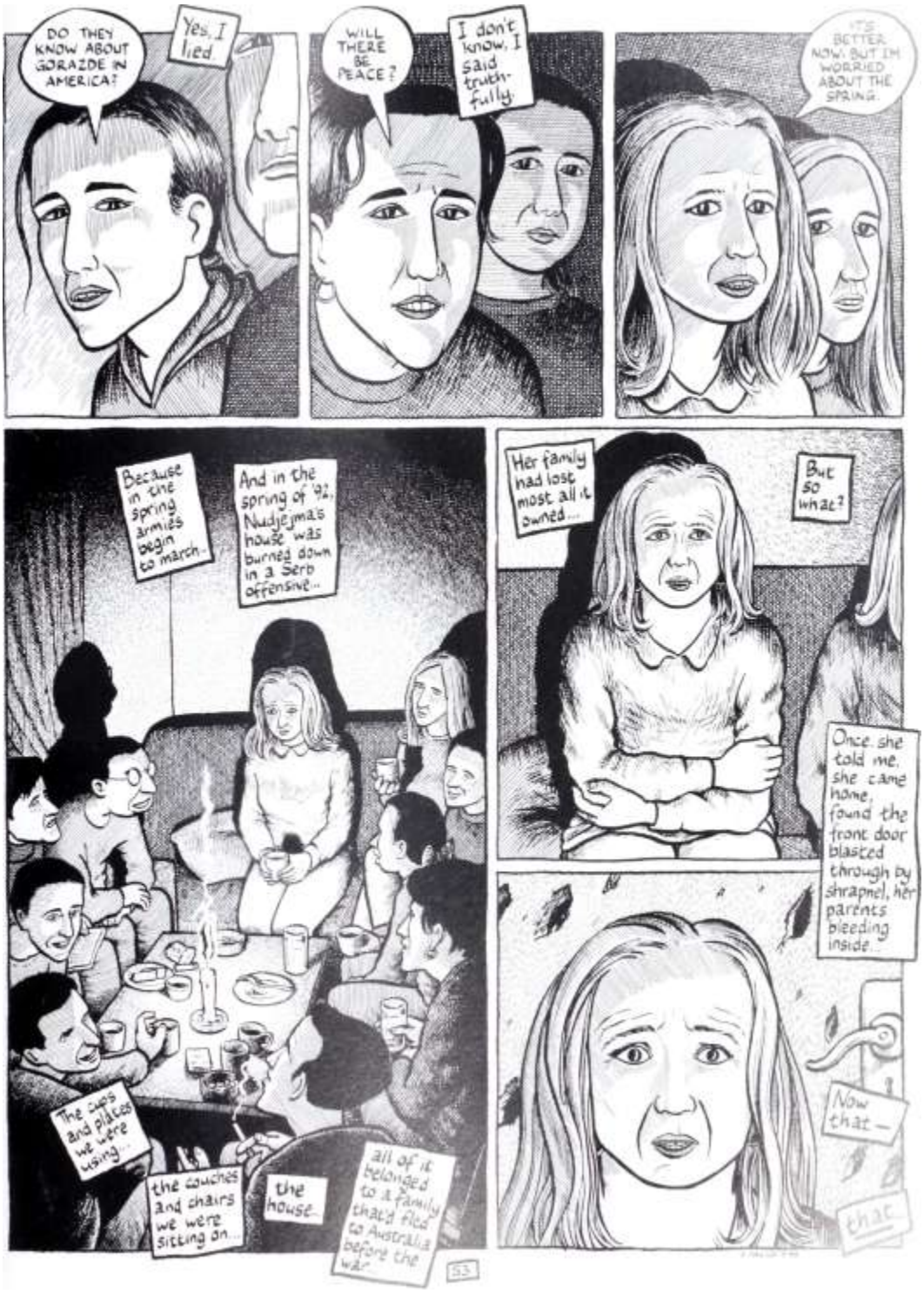
HOW TO MAKE DINNER, TOO.

I had to remind her...
DO YOU MAKE CAKE FOR YOUR BOYFRIEND?
NO ONLY FOR YOU AND EDIN.
WHAT'S IN HIS MIND IS, HE'S OLD ENOUGH TO BE HER FATHER
It is? I am!
THAT'S RIGHT
She was sweet 16...
her boy friend was 19
two, three months they'd been going steady and already things were rocky...
Hell, they were all in the middle of toy trouble. Kimeta's sweet heart had been badly wounded ages ago. He's been Medivac'd and was recuperating in Dublin.
WE'VE BEEN TOGETHER FOR 32 MONTHS
Well, she'd been together for 32 months. He'd found a new squeeze along the way.
Saima, Kimeta's sis claimed to take this love stuff in stride...
She had no intention of marrying any time soon...
NOT BEFORE I'M 20
She put on her jacket and periodically disappeared into the dark and mud seeking signs of her boyfriend
HE'S THE POETIC TYPE


And there he was!
ahhhhhhhhhhh
Dude!
And just as advertised—
just like that—
Dude got poetic!

Dude was giggly, too

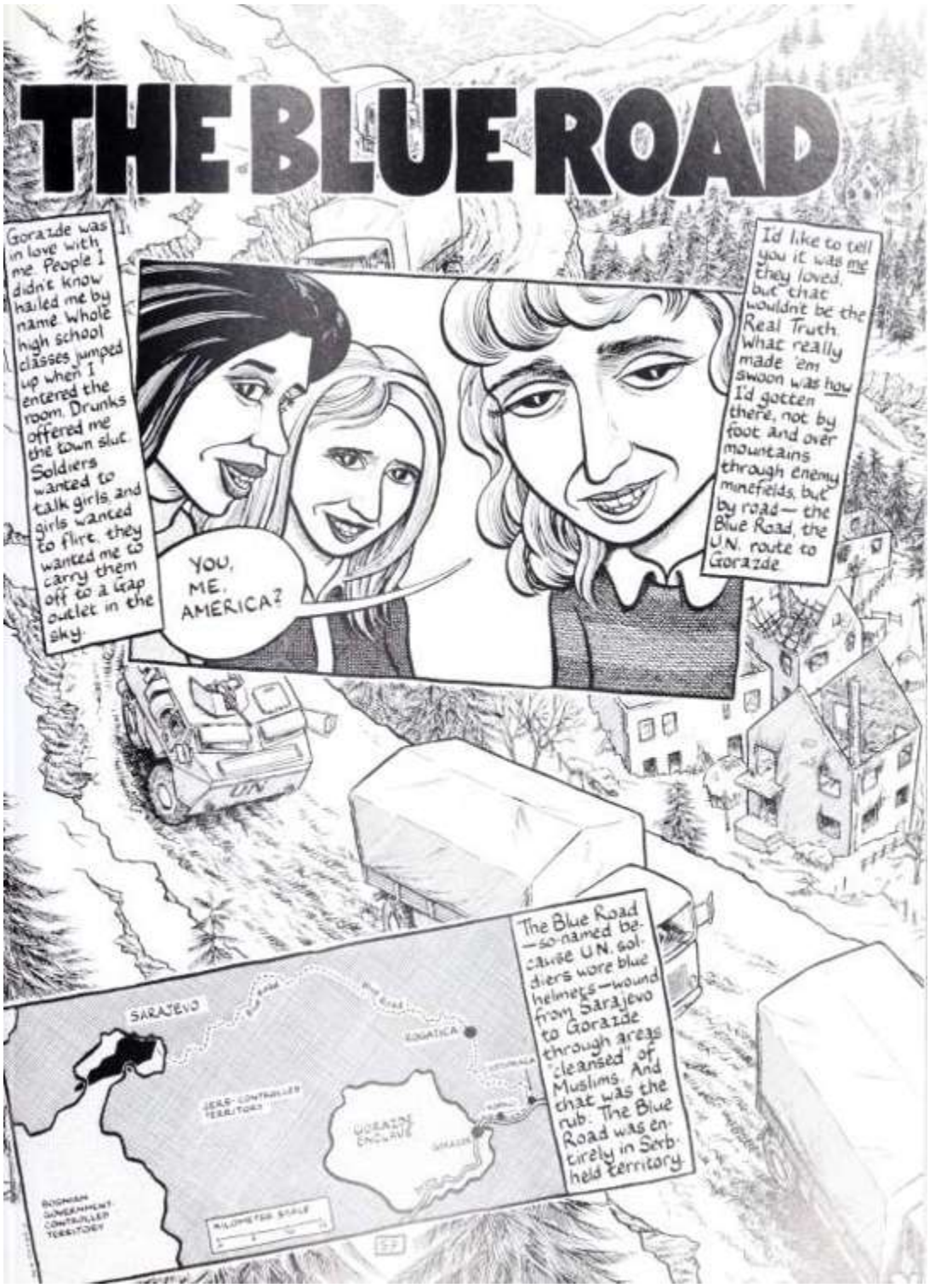
DO YOU KNOW WHERE YOU'VE COME?
IS OUR FIGHT JUST?
Yes, I said, your fight is just.
He was a refugee from Visegrad His father had been slaughtered by the Serbs. his brother killed in action
He was alone.
In the morning he was going back to the front.

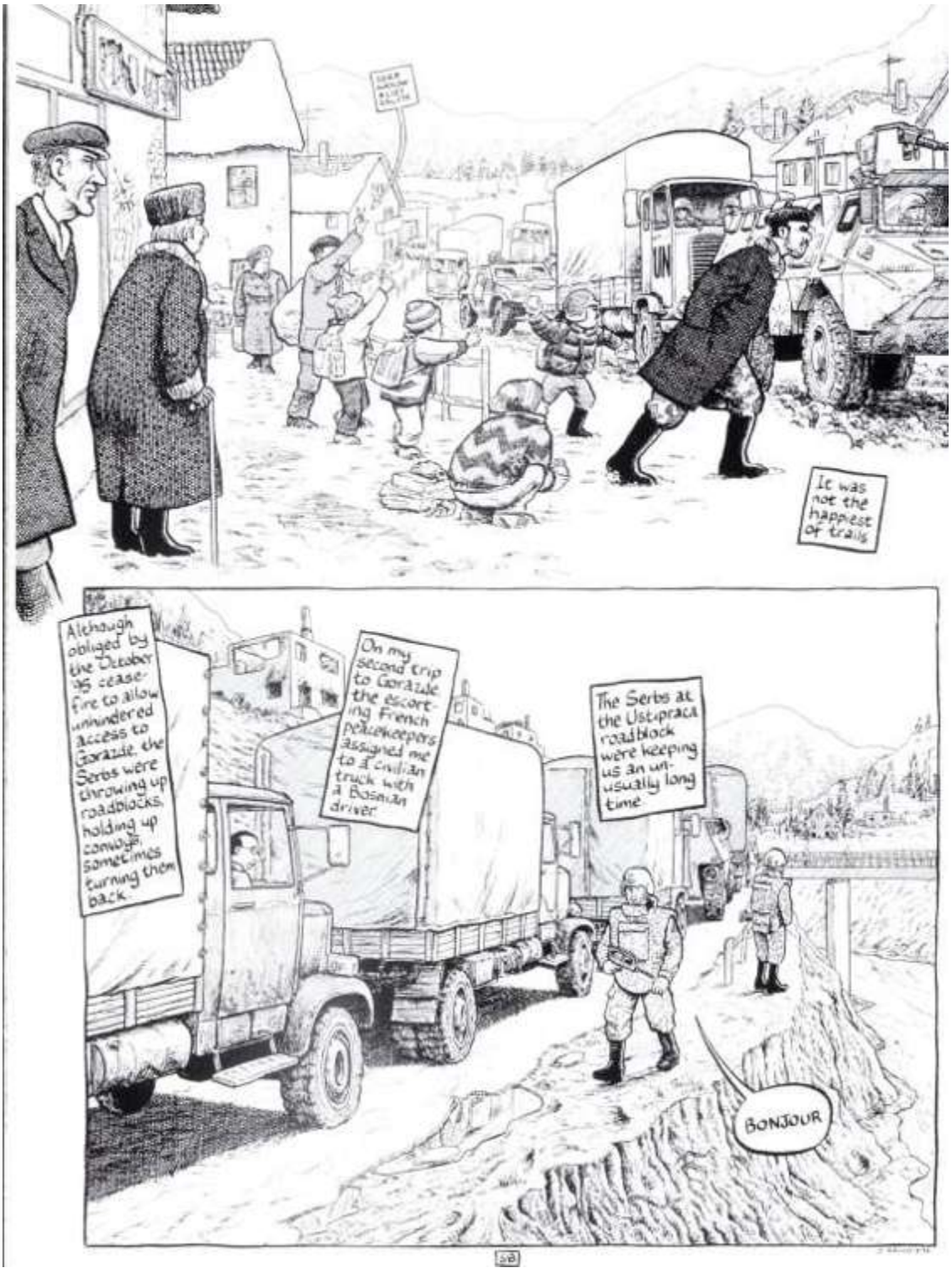

DO THEY KNOW ABOUT GORAZDE IN AMERICA?
Yes, I lied.
WILL THERE BE PEACE?
I don't know, I said truthfully.
IT'S BETTER NOW, BUT I'M WORRIED ABOUT THE SPRING.
Because in the spring armies begin to march.
And in the spring of '92, Nudejema's house was burned down in a Serb offensive.
The cups and plates we were using...
the couches and chairs we were sitting on...
the house.
all of it belonged to a family that'd fled to Australia before the war.
53
Her family had lost most all it owned...
But so what?
Once she told me, she came home, found the front door blasted through by shrapnel, her parents bleeding inside...
Now that—
that.

I NEED A CIGARETTE
one drag—
MY NERVES ARE BETTER NOW
Oops!
Watch out!
It's mom!
Nudjejma—
a good girl who didn't smoke!
Sabina wanted to know...
What would I do if the cease-fire collapsed...
If I got cut off in Igrazde, too?
WHAT WILL YOU DO IF THEY START SHELLING AGAIN?
I'd go underground I said
YOU CAN STAY IN MY CELLAR
54

DO YOU LIKE SABINA? ARE YOU INTERESTED IN SABINA?
SURE
BUT SHE'S TAKEN ALREADY
NO ONE LIKES MUSLIM GIRLS
?
Meanwhile, on the other side of the table, Kimeta unfolded the handkerchief and divided the polished stones.
It was time to look into the future.
not for signs of peace or the sound of marching in the spring
YOU ARE EMPTY.
YOUR BOYFRIEND IS EMPTY.
BUT SOON YOU WILL FIND HAPPINESS WITH SOMEONE NEW.
(I DID IT TO MAKE HER FEEL BETTER.)

I told them I'd be leaving Gorazde soon, that I'd return in a few days, a couple of weeks...
was there anything they wanted from Sarajevo?
JEANS!
Orders and sizes poured in:
Levi's!
Original 501s!
American-made!
Make no mistake!
I warned them jeans were 110 marks! 140!
Don't worry. They'd get the dough!
Relatives were sending money in parcels!
What was there to spend it on in Gorazde?
But hold on!
WEREN'T BOTH OF YOU TALKING ABOUT GOING TO AMERICA TO STUDY MEDICINE?
WOULDN'T IT BE BETTER IF YOU SPENT THAT MONEY ON SOME BOOKS TO LEARN ENGLISH?
WOULDN'T THAT SHOW MORE CHARACTER?
yes...
Yes, of course it would they agreed
They were a couple of silly girls


THE BLUE ROAD
Gorazde was in love with me. People I didn't know hailed me by name. Whole high school classes jumped up when I entered the room. Drunks offered me the town slut. Soldiers wanted to talk girls, and girls wanted to flirt. They wanted me to carry them off to a gap outlet in the sky.
YOU, ME, AMERICA?
I'd like to tell you it was me they loved, but that wouldn't be the Real Truth. What really made 'em swoon was how I'd gotten there, not by foot and over mountains through enemy minefields, but by road — the Blue Road, the U.N. route to Gorazde.
The Blue Road — so-named because U.N. soldiers wore blue helmets — wound from Sarajevo to Gorazde through areas "cleansed" of Muslims. And that was the rub. The Blue Road was entirely in Serb-held territory.
SARAJEVO
KONJICA
SERB-CONTROLLED TERRITORY
UNPROTECTED ENCLAVE
BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED TERRITORY
UN


UN
It was not the happiest of trails
Although obliged by the October 95 cease-fire to allow unhindered access to Gorazde, the Serbs were throwing up roadblocks, holding up convoys, sometimes turning them back.
On my second trip to Gorazde, the escorting French peacekeepers assigned me to a civilian truck with a Bosnian driver.
The Serbs at the Ustipraca roadblock were keeping us an unusually long time.
BONJOUR
58

1 was not wan*iinq to the idea of hold»ruj the door closed a^^rtst the Serb soldiers moving around us, but the driver, who had infinitelq more to worry about, took our predicament n str.de.

WE 'AVE A LEETLE PROB-LEM.
The Serbs were demanding to examine the contents of the trucks. The Frogs had refused and were on the radio with their brass in Sarajevo. The Serbs were in contact with theirs in Pale.
YOUR DRIVER IS MUSLIM, SO IF A SERB WANTS TO LOOK IN THE TRUCK, DON'T LET HIM INTO THE CABIN
I was not warming to the idea of holding the door closed against the Serb soldiers moving around us, but the driver, who had infinitely more to worry about, took our predicament in stride.
After two hours, the Serbs dropped their demand and the convoy proceeded.
A few kilometers further up, in Kopaci, a rock smashed through the windshield of a truck ahead of us and into a driver's face.
Accessibility to Gorazde diminished even further over the next few days.
By late November, UNPROFOR was threatening to use its Rapid Reaction Force against the Serbs to make sure the route remained open.
59
*UNPROFOR: UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE

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iWj

UN,

■Still, as

tenuous

as it was . the Blue Road had

so far ^gartt a considerable irtfu-

aoods into oraide.

AU-TH£ WAV TO fOCA/

/ivf/

\ "' u . •■

Co<v°S s peafegi"ynganiza-l

^ova^' \fcionswere c^ e ^r , "ied«ci| J |

S"pp/f£S,

c/otfies, shoes...

teta <»

THINGS HAVE IMPROVED BIT BY 6iT OVER THE LAST TWO OP-
THREE WEEKS, AND I HAVE

ENJOYED EVERY LITTLE

"The influx of aoods meant that pnces in Gorazde, perhaps the

1 worlds hiqh-

m est, had plununeted..

Oftee was w

lonqer 1000 dm

a Bo... Salt,

which had ^tched lOOd* ikiloonthe black market in wid-October ute ^ththe price 3l month la^r.

IN LMTc OCTOBER 1995 Idr" = TO U.S. CENTS

mm&

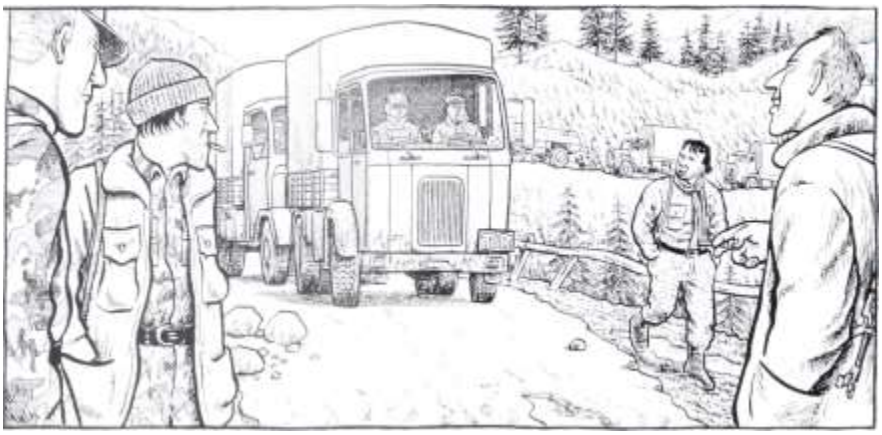
Perhaps the greatest of the new joys arriving with the convoys were private parcels — the first received since the beginning of the war
Public bulletins notified the lucky recipients
Emira saw her name on the list...
MAYBE IT'S A PACKAGE FROM MY BROTHER IN GERMANY MAYBE HE SENT ME SOME PANTS
Lejla modelled the boots she'd just received from a relative in Sweden
At the office of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the young women censoring letters were bored to tears reading all the outgoing requests...
"I WANT TROUSERS. I WANT SHOES, HERE ARE MY SIZES"
EVERY LETTER THE SAME

Another package arrived for Leyla and family from Germany. this one had sat in Sarajevo almost a year.
Meanwhile...
IT WASN'T ME ON THE LIST
THE PACKAGE WAS FOR SOMEONE WITH THE SAME NAME
But if an expected package wasn't coming in or bringing satisfaction, the Blue Road provided a fall-back delivery system.
Me!
SHE WANTS TO KNOW WHEN YOU'RE LEAVING
Not cause she'd miss me, but to add to the requests for perfumes and shoe polish and lipsticks and playing cards that'd roll in before my departures for Sarajevo.
Alma wanted a watch a cheap one but a wind-up please. nothing that needed batteries.
IF WE'RE CUT OFF AGAIN, I WON'T BE ABLE TO REPLACE THEM.
Nina wanted hair color, facial cream, something for skin allergies.
I BROKE OUT AGAIN WHEN MY BROTHER WAS KILLED

/\nd, of course, there were o.fts and personal messages to pass back and $jrth beaten loved ones who hadn't seen each other m three and a half yeans

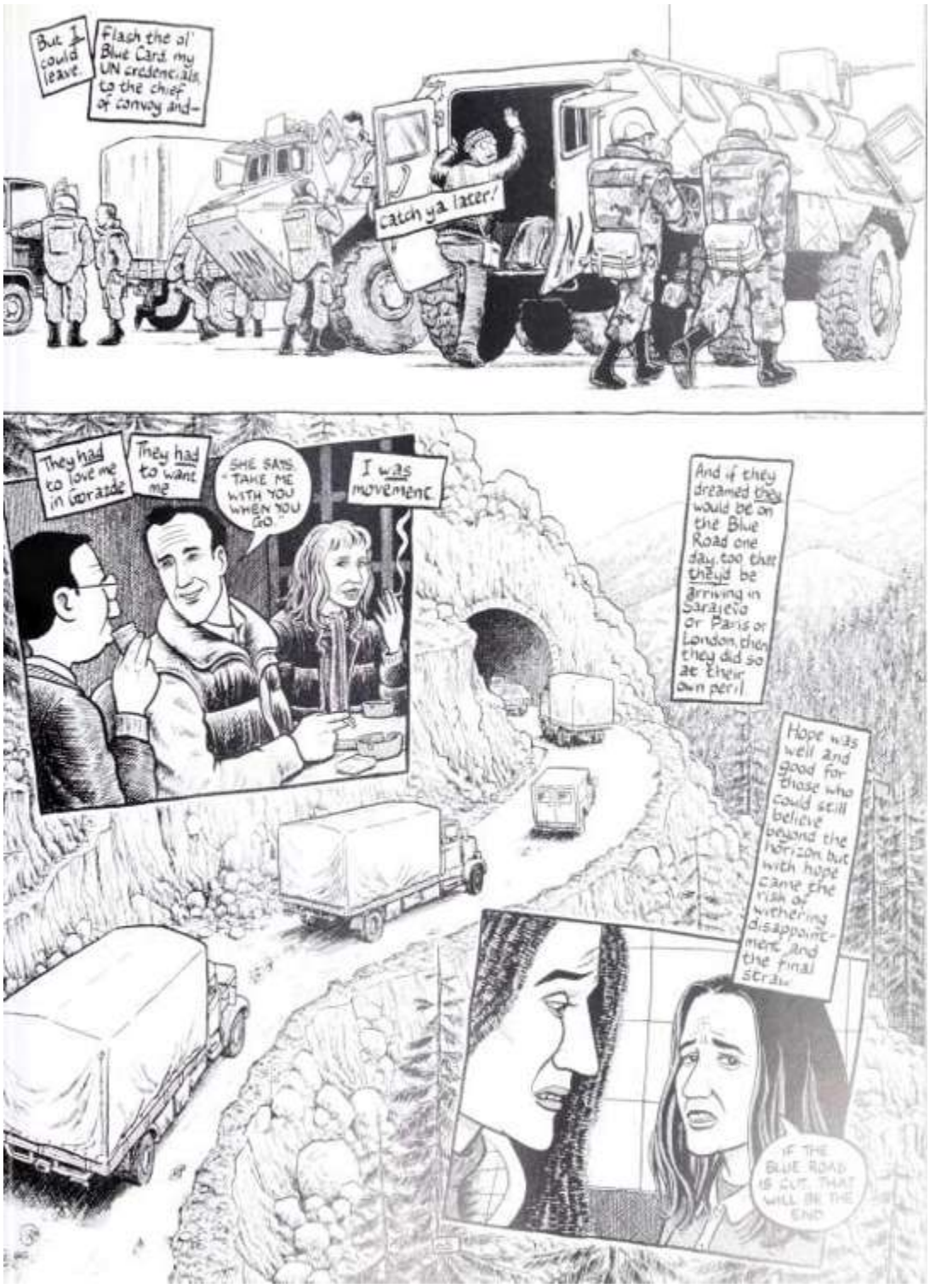
And, of course, there were gifts and personal messages to pass back and forth between loved ones who hadn't seen each other in three and a half years...
Would I take this package to Riki's sister in Sarajevo?
In Sarajevo, Riki's sister sorted through the baby clothes sent by her parents to the granddaughter they'd never seen.
IS ANYONE WOUNDED?
IS RIKI A GOOD MUSLIM?
Back in Gorazde, the first order of business was dispensing scribbled notes and packets
YOU KNOW THIS GUY? I'VE GOT AN ENVELOPE OF DEUTSCHEMARKS FOR HIM.
And so the cycle went...
Returning to Sarajevo tomorrow.
A message for your wife perhaps?
TELL HER THERE'S PLENTY OF ROOM HERE. EVERYTHING'S IN GOOD CONDITION. THERE'S LOTS OF CHOPPED WOOD.
TELL HER I LOOK GOOD.
SHE SHOULD COME SOON.
Back in Sarajevo with his wife and children, I handed her a letter from the moon, told her about the chopped wood, that her husband wanted her to come soon...
63

Come soon? 6ut how? Assuming she or Anyone ccu\d $et $om-ernment permission to travel the Blue Road - which seemed highly unlikely — few Muslm? were readj m late '95 to entrust themselves to the good will of the Serbs al^th7route.j|

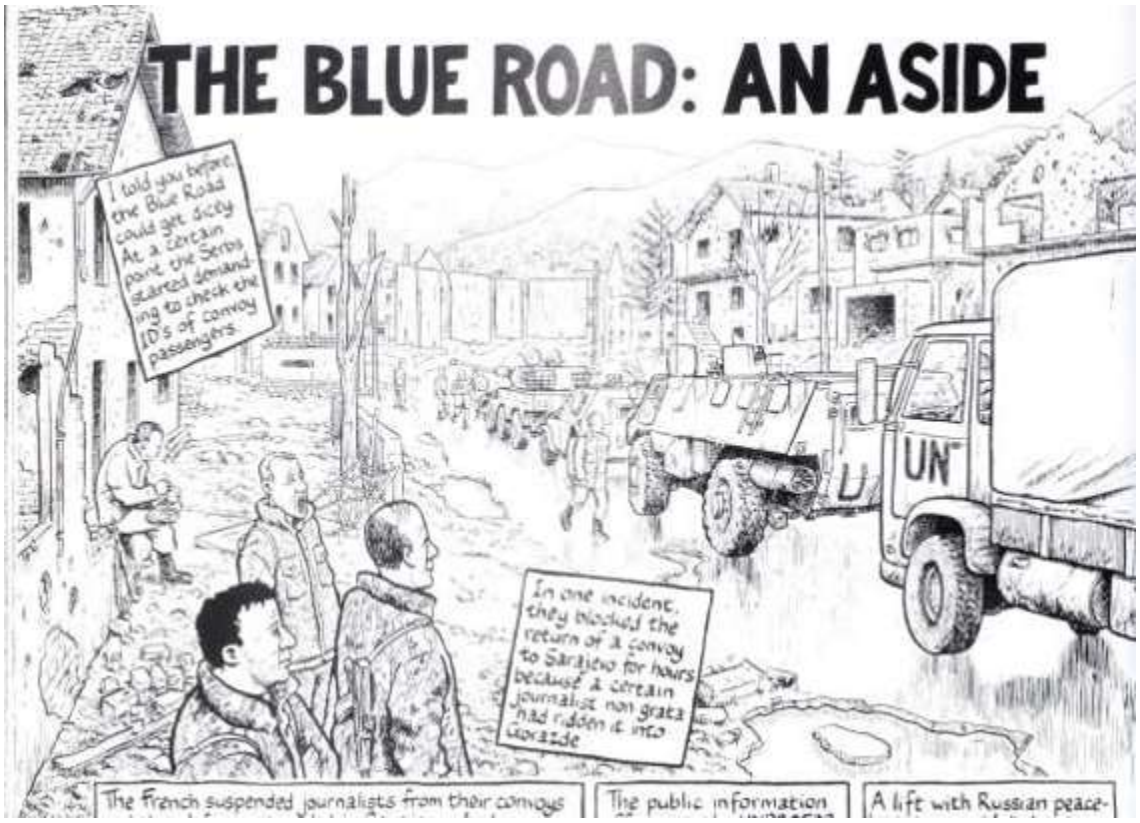


Still, in Goražde, the Blue Road dangled the glorious possibility of people getting out some day.
Getting out!
Leyla and Ema were flirting with the notion.
After years being trapped, sealed off, they now had a glimmer of Somewhere Else...
And maybe—perhaps—that Emerald City was no longer an infinity away
WAIT FOR US, SARAJEVO!
WE ARE COMING!

Many took heart that outsiders like me, and not just peacekeepers and humanitarian workers, could now come and go.
I'd show up and find my pals, their families, and everyone else still surrounded in the enclave just where I'd left 'em.
Oh, the happy reunions!
♪ YOU CAN CHECK OUT ANY TIME YOU LIKE, BUT YOU CAN NEVER LEAVE... ♪


But I could leave.
Flash the ol' Blue Card, my UN credentials, to the chief of convoy and—
catch ya later!
They had to love me in Sarajevo
They had to want me
SHE SAYS "TAKE ME WITH YOU WHEN YOU GO."
I was movement
And if they dreamed they would be on the Blue Road one day, too that they'd be arriving in Sarajevo or Paris or London, then they did so at their own peril
Hope was well and good for those who could still believe beyond the horizon but with hope came the risk of withering disappointment and the final straw
IF THE BLUE ROAD IS CUT, THAT WILL BE THE END

BLUE ROAD: AN ASIDE


THE BLUE ROAD: AN ASIDE
I told you before, the Blue Road could get dicey. At a certain point the Serbs started demanding to check the ID's of convoy passengers.
In one incident, they blocked the return of a convoy to Sarajevo for hours because a certain journalist non grata had ridden it into Gorazde
UN
The French suspended journalists from their convoys
The public information
A lift with Russian peace-

"foe ftench Suspended journalists -from their convoys and that left me stranded in Sarajevo. And you shoulda heard me, alternately bad-mouthinq the Froqs and snivelling for updates from their captains and colonel s-^^^^ 1MV""^HM^H

and colonels
OUI OUI... JE SUIS ME AGAIN, MON CAP. ITAINE
ANY CHANGE?
ON TAKING JOURNAL-ISTS TO GORAZDE?
MAYBE NEXT WEEK?
BUT YOU SAID THAT LAST WEEK
IF THE FRENCH DON'T WANT TO TAKE YOU, YOU'RE DEAD IN THE WATER
60

The public information officer at the UNPROFOR headquarters wanted to be helpful, but-

A lift with Russian peacekeepers wouldn't be a problem, but they had to check with-

Days passed
Weeks
UNPR
One word used at a press conference was ringing in my head
Access to Gorazde had deteriorated"
I was wondering about Edin, Riki, the silly girls
If I was no longer movement, where did they stand?
Eventually the Serbs eased up on their pressure
And for the moment the French okayed journalists again.
I got back to Gorazde
I gave out lipsticks and letters
I did some interviews
I had some laughs with my pals
We were back to square one
But I'd had a joic. let me tell you
It'd been my turn to understand how much more than a few kilometers of road separated me from them
Disappearance

OWTHE MORNING Of

MAY 4, W2, MY MOTHER SAID, 'WAKE UP' THE WAR HAS

STARTED/GO INTO THE CELLAR/' I HEARD AT THAT MOMENT THE FIRING ..OF AN AUTOMATIC

-u

1 called my Serb -friends but I 1 went to see my Muslim nobody answered, no one was Hfnends, but they didn't m their houses...I didn't find my (know anything. Serb neighbors either ...

' "Ine phone stopped workmq about 930, 10 o'clock... *

"Some people went downtown to ask what's up People who had gone I to work returned quickly... They'd heard that the Serbs had l eft..

It had been very organized on

the Serb side.."

Ehe mght before,! "I heard -from some women what was up downtown... a lot m acoordm- _ Idestroujed shops, people taking -food, clothes... looting. I ated move, most op (stones, rumors about people Rilled...but no one saw an the Serbs who remained m Gora-zde slipped out of [town. In Edm's neighborhood, a/| [the Serbs disappeared. They retired to predominantly Serb areas Or took up positions m the surrounding hills, apparently expect mg to return to I their vacant homes soon.

of bullets, I heard d victims...

snipers, ifferent

Z^t-%

JS>

"From the closest hill in mu region a machine-gun was shoot-l"We listened to the radio... Serb radio ing all the time to the other side of the river But theg ■stations... always propaganda; 'We didn't shoot here for 15 days... (mustn't live together we must kill

yaw;**™* .:<*■** >.<t^.*. i.s> M^\\ Muslim people'...somethinq like

that... 3

'I kept watch on empty Serb houses. 1 thought, if someone steals something from Serb houses, I will be accused, I can have trouble... Nobody took anything, believe me, nobody from this area

"One morning I saw somebody moving—my Serb neighbors from three houses over; twol brothers...

"I whistled to them .and |"I thought it waspos-one of them Signalled to me Bsible if T go o\/er there, to be o^uiet ana come over. I they'll capture me and

| kdl me. I told mu father I was go my over to see them...

"They brought out brandy and we sat outside their house... nobody could see us. They said they'd come to feed their P'3 S

"I whistled to them...and one of them signalled to me to be quiet and come over...
I thought it was possible if I go over there, they'll capture me and kill me. I told my father I was going over to see them...
"They brought out brandy and we sat outside their house...nobody could see us. They said they'd come to feed their pigs...

I "told them about two people who'd been killed ■ "I said I would like to speak to mu friend, a Idowntown. Hcbief among mu, Serb neighbors.

is it Possible tc stop this

FlGHT(N<3,2 if THERE ARE

.MORE VICTIMS, BLOODSHED,

IT WONT S€ POSSIBLE

TO STOP THIS

WAR.

r

' WE'RE YOUR NEIGHBORS

UP THERE, BUT ALL

COMMAMPS ARE

COMING- FROM

ABOVE

' U4

I

we. ARE ^BUT IF YOU DON'T THERE SO FEEL SAFE YOU ARE £*iOOGM, BRING SAPE • „ YOUR FAMILY into MY HOUSE y

HERE ' YOU CAN ^TAkE THE KEY

NO.

I DON'T

NEED

IT

ITS A

r GOOD IDEA

TO STAY

(N MY

HOUSE

IF YOU NEED SOMETHING, FOOD, WE HAVE EVERYTHING. THE CELLAR IS FULL

WE NEED NO-. THING / W*

4 We agreed to leave important messages for each other in a bay in his house.

"On May 13, there was a lot I of shooting overnight... We I couldn't sleep

i :

My father said we must oo

"But after one day, two days iHto -the center of town... In this [stopped checking. Mu father lareatheu could come when Itold me it washf' safe... B^^u. wanted and kill us...

BUT IT'S BEST IF YOU AND YOUR FAMILY GO FROM HERE

nsr^-

ITS

DANGEROUS. ITS BETTER

THAN STAVING.

'We were a short time m town land then ^ father -thought it would be safer in Kopaci..."

Piramida!

X

Boredz! From my perspective, there was nothing like shouting over thumping music to a couple of lovely ladies to make an enclave seem exciting
WE'RE GOING HOME
Home?
Where it was dark?
Jesus, curfew wasn't for another hour and a half but the kids were already clearing out
Just then my pal K shuffled in
71

THIS PLACE OPENED UP YESTERDAY AND I'M ALREADY SICK OF IT
IT'S THE SAME OLD FACES, THAT'S THE PROBLEM.
THE SAME PEOPLE EVERY NIGHT
Sure, it was an autumn without bullets and shells ... sure, one could now take a stroll up and down the second bridge, recently one of the deadliest places in Bosnia
And sure, bombed-out or neglected spaces were being cleared out, fixed up and turned into coffee bars and night spots
But if the kids could now sit around and hang out without getting blown to bits, they didn't seem to do so with much enthusiasm
I HATE THIS LITTLE FUCKING TOWN.
72

ITS REALLY 60RIN& AT HOME, 50 1 SO JUT AMP IT'S SORING- JM HERE. TOO. <$!*

azra

AND I HAVE NOTHING-TO TALK

ABOUT.

I GOT 'SOME MAGAZINES FROM THE BRITISH PEACEKEEPERS UHEN THEN

WERE

HERE

I READ ABOUT A flLM CALLED, 'PULP FICTION

I REALLY WANT TO SEE THAT MOVIE.

/•&%

W

c*^V

WE WANT TO TALK ABOUT SOMETHING J OTHER THAU' THE .WAR. ^

NEW

FASHlOM

**KI ANSTHlNJf]

NEW

3nt thered t>een nothing new for years, no new films,

no new faiKi^n. When I bought a. -few Bosnian-language ^ag-az^es fVom Sarajevo, O^ were passed around and devoured, "to* library was so grateful -to get the periodicals that it tagged the* as specially donated t>M

yOur$ truly.

>

kgaye^ L>\e tne

1 grand 1 tour

1 |lii$roO*>l|

1 had been W«t bg a

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a SB

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Lfe<4\;

The librao) sta^told me they'd toe 6W shelling. Besidestnafc^: - ««■

books in the

SOLDIERS TAKE THEM UP TO THE f RONT AND LOSE THEM WHEN THERE'S AN ATTACK-

AND WE LOSE BOOKS, for. 'example, when people are killed or wounded and cant return

THEM.

I WAS CRYING., FED OP, I WAS SEARCHING THR0UGWJ,

THE >

^RUBBLE. -/

fOUNO MY FRIEND

ALMER'S FENDER

STRATO-.CASTER.

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mi

it's

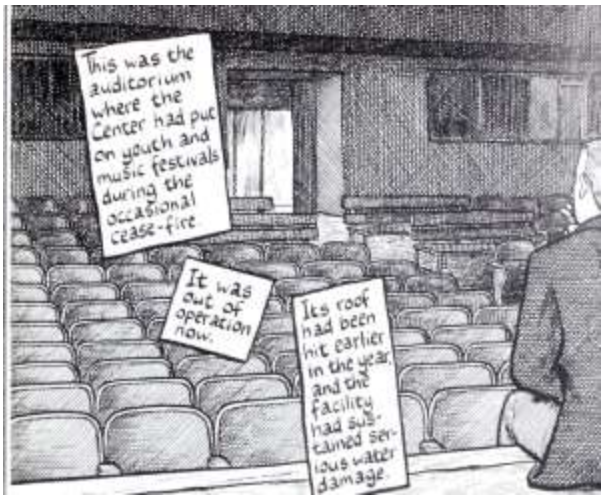
THE ONLY \i

FENDER

STRATO-

CASTER »N

&ORAZPE


This was the auditorium where the Center had put on youth and music festivals during the occasional cease-fire
It was out of operation now.
Its roof had been hit earlier in the year and the facility had sustained serious water damage.

BsMsP

iwiH> »"*"

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]*2&tofoqu /fjf facar

town's r. c i

Hitko, one of the Centers directors, was still qriev-mo over an artist friend, killed at the frontrwhose body fell mto Serb hands and was finally exchanged on the day his exhibi tion opened^.

it

In a backroom, ■Ema and Leila were runninq through a. scnpt for an ttpconiino, hand-puppet theater

body fell into Serb hands and was finally exchanged on the day his exhibition opened.
THE CHETNIKS HAVE TRIED TO TURN OUR PEOPLE INTO COWS.
IF THEY'VE SUCCEEDED TO SURROUND OUR BODIES, THEY CAN'T SURROUND OUR SPIRITS.
SUCH AN ACTIVITY IS A MATTER OF SURVIVAL FOR ME.
EVERY DAY I EAT BEANS UNTIL I CAN'T STAND THEM ANY-MORE.
THIS MORNING I ATE THEM AGAIN.
TO-MORROW I'LL EAT BEANS AGAIN—UNTIL I CAN'T STAND THEM ANY MORE.
THEN I'LL READ SOME MORE POEMS.

-J aw

gg

/Vv>a

Vv^

e^Siii.

MS**** rar*

I told Kunta about America's big sky, about the road stretching on and on, about running out of gas in Kansas
I told these guys that Clyde Drexler had gone to Houston.
I told Haris what I remembered of 'Pulp Fiction'
After an hour's chat about this and that, Alma told me she'd recall aspects of our conversation for a long time, that it'd keep her going for another month.
AND WHAT SHALL WE TALK ABOUT NOW? SHALL WE TALK ABOUT ART?
And I'd throw out every scrap I knew...
Stuff off the top of my head
They gathered in my crumbs.

WB

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was in-| .flawed

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Ipfei hadfUed [the Condition |jn Mhichtfcgifj

house after J tteir Serb

labors wrt*-] are*

£d/n had taped over a cassette

taken from

f Serb /u<5g

because as soon as his

awSSMS*»BS88K.

#**$e ended, we ivere J watdiioj a Jv^rb wedd/rtdl

]my...todr

I maji, tMo5g

' wedding fSweste were J setting ' smashed-

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~T7

SB 'V

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El

By Goražde standards, Edin's immediate family had been lucky.
No one had been killed.
But his mother almost burst into tears when reminded of the close calls
Edin wounded two times
her younger son Emir wounded four times
her husband wounded once
She didn't understand English, but she knew when Edin and I were talking about the war
Only once did she break in
She said that before the war they'd done everything with their Serb neighbors.
They'd had them over for coffee, they'd celebrated Orthodox Christmas with them, they'd gone to their weddings
She said she could live with them again that they could come back if they wanted, that everyone must go back to his or her place—
but that it could never be the same.
never
NEIGHBORS
NEIGHBORS

The First Attack
IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO GO TO MY OWN HOUSE. IT WAS TOO CLOSE TO THE SERBS...
Emina
WE HAD THE SAFEST HOME. WITH THREE CONCRETE FLOORS ABOVE THE CELLAR.
108 PEOPLE WERE STAYING WITH US BEFORE THE ATTACK.
WE WERE IN THAT SAME CELLAR. ME, MY WIFE, MY SON AND DAUGHTER. EVERY-ONE.
Izet
Rumsa
Ibro
Immediately following the outbreak of hos-
I HEARD THE ATTACK AND CLIMBED QUICKLY ON

E immediately following the outbreak of hostilities in Gorazde, many residents of the vulnerable Kokino Selo neiyh-

Iborhood —Edin's home area —

leathered in one

| house for safety. The Serbs were

J positioned on an Overlooking hilltop The situation remained essentially hg^ unchanged until the mormnq of May 11, Wl.

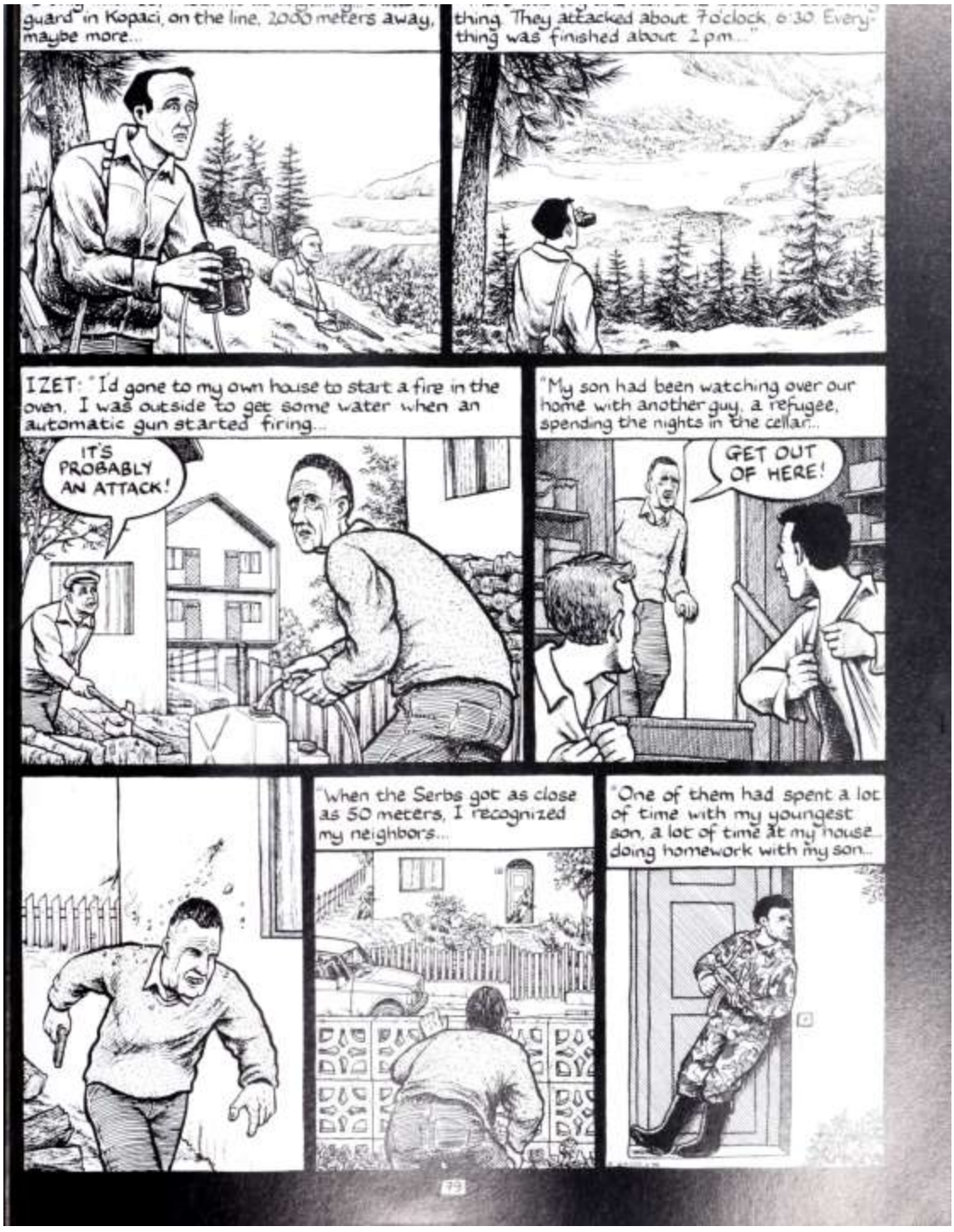
I HEARD THE ATTACK ANJO CURSED QUICKLY OU THAT HILL AMP WATCHED THE WHOLE TIME

8ft

I

"1 only watched, I couldn't do anything... I was on guard m Kopaci, on the line, 20OO meters away, maybe more...

" There was feg and ram and I couldn't see everything. They afctacl<ed about ? o'clock, 6:30. Everything was -finished about 2 p.m.."


guard in Kopaci, on the line, 2000 meters away, maybe more...
thing. They attacked about 7 o'clock, 6:30. Everything was finished about 2 p.m..."
IZET: "I'd gone to my own house to start a fire in the oven. I was outside to get some water when an automatic gun started firing...
IT'S PROBABLY AN ATTACK!
"My son had been watching over our home with another guy, a refugee, spending the nights in the cellar...
GET OUT OF HERE!
"When the Serbs got as close as 50 meters, I recognized my neighbors...
"One of them had spent a lot of time with my youngest son, a lot of time at my house... doing homework with my son...

IZ£T: * Id gone to mu own house to start a-fire in the oven. I was outside to get some water when an automatic gun started firing...

'When the Serbs got as dose as 50 meters, I recognized my neighbors...

El

" 1 was armed with a pistol, I" I got back to Ibro and Rumsa.'s cellar.

but I didn't shoot back It Kj^HiM |§F what do ""

was a small awn... H , H we oo ^ they

"~tti —n i^flHwr J^m^ now ?,#are auu

^"»^»fc^ _-*.«* AROUND US.'

«sr

1

Jft*

Bwffl

mtP*

'Only 13 or J4 people were I "We made the decision -that all -the women and children should [defending... [escape quickkj to -the nver... "

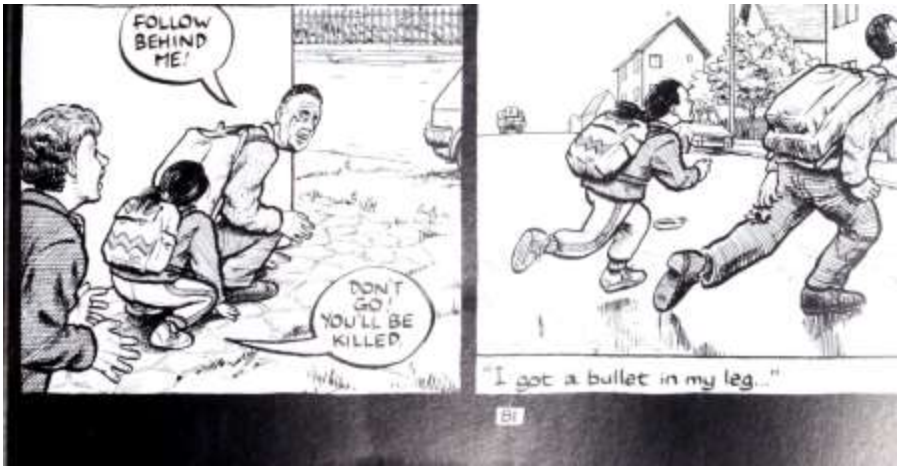
RUMS A: I was with mu, youngest daughter; a one year old, and my eldest daughter; who was 2D... We ran awai), down toward the river... Essgss—I

Two pregnant women were lying mthe main road-, wounded... It wasn't possible to help them. One op them was still alive...

wounded... It wasnt possible to help them. One of them was still alive...
" Later , she was captured by the Serbs..."
nouse... Some of them wanted to run across the main here was a vehicle with an automatic cannon shoot-
"My daughter followed me, but my wife didn't move...

1ZET: People were gathered beside a house... Some of them wanted to run across the main roa.d, some of them were afraid to. There was a vehicle with an automatic cannon shooting down the road...

'I had seen dead women, children, and men and 1 thought it's better to be killed while running than to stay in the same place...



IBRO: '"[he others had left... 1 | saw Serbs in uniform 50 meters behind the house...

UP'

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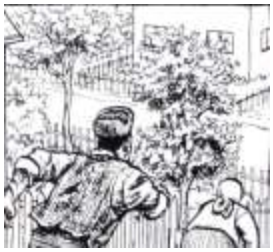
0 # Jw'

flwlgitomm

"I was temporarily dea-f...

m

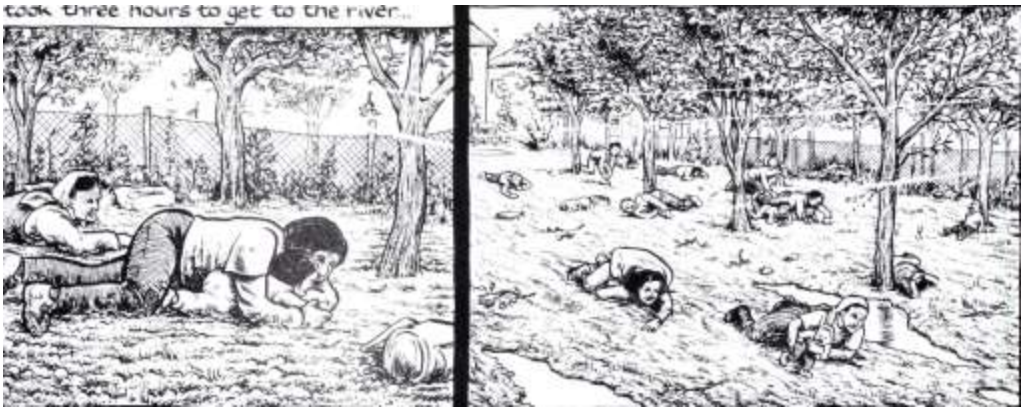
'I ran to the main road...



..mu, neighbor..."

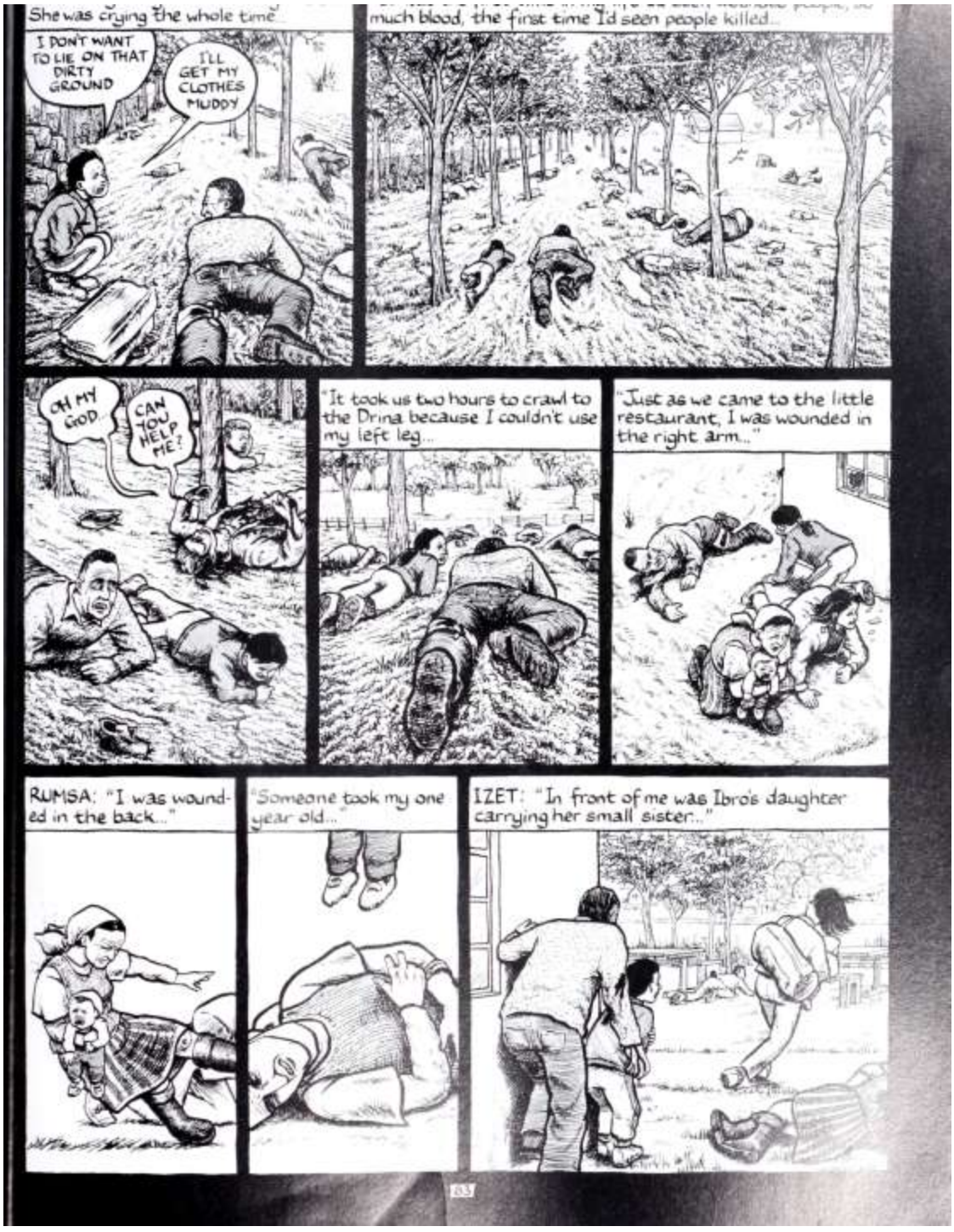
EMINA: "I protected mu daughter with mL) bodcj, crawling down to the river It took three hours-to jet to the river.

RUMSA: "1 can never -forqet that in my life...the| screaming, the shouting, the children crying..."



IZET: "My daughter was 13 years old. She was crying the whole time...

"It was the first time in mu life I'd seen wounded people, much blood, the - first -time I'd seen people killed...


She was crying the whole time...
I DON'T WANT TO LIE ON THAT DIRTY GROUND
I'LL GET MY CLOTHES MUDDY
much blood, the first time I'd seen people killed...
OH MY GOD
CAN YOU HELP ME?
"It took us two hours to crawl to the Drina because I couldn't use my left leg...
"Just as we came to the little restaurant, I was wounded in the right arm..."
RUMSA: "I was wounded in the back..."
"Someone took my one year old...
IZET: "In front of me was Ibro's daughter carrying her small sister..."
83

RUMSA: "My eldest daughter was wounded in the forehead... 11 tied bandages around her head, but

I passed out

"Someone earned me to safety. My eldest daughter was left behind."

j|,|»h i'.~*I..<...(i..M

RUMSA: "My eldest daughter was wounded in the forehead... I tied bandages around her head, but I'd lost so much blood I passed out...
"Someone carried me to safety. My eldest daughter was left behind."
IZET: "My daughter stayed by the restaurant...
HOW DO I CROSS?
ROLL OVER THE PATH
"and we came down to the river bank."

IBRO: "I -found my son...I asked about mu wife and Bl2£T: "The river was hiyh, and we got into it two daughters... 1 went to town, to the first bridge, B and moved toward town. I but I couldn't find my family... I came back..." ■6nn9KnE^nffi^H9ffl6

"I Jo n't like to speak about this. After loo meters I got out because I'd lost my courage.

"I found Ibro and another man, but I didn't want to go on. So mu daughter and the two men left me there.

"I changed rrtu mind..,It was raining and T couldn't use mu leg, but I continued to town. I crawled al/ night like that

'At 3:30 am. I was near the

second bridge "

£MINA: "We spent nine hours in the river We waited till after midnight.,. My daughter was without food or water -for 24 hours, but she never cried."

- : T>*

MV BROTHER AMD GRANDMOTHER WERE THERE WHEN THE SERBS ATTACKED... w£ DIDN'T KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM FOR. SEVEN OR EIGHT DAYS. WE WERE IN kOPACI.

^thiaJL.

"My brother was wounded by a shell... and he was bloody, all his body, from shrapnel... He grabbed my grandmother and ran with her on his shoulders and escaped in the direction of the river"

FIVE OF MV RELATIVES WERE MISSING ANO SIX KILLED.

(iW'iH 11 '-ill 'ft

THEY SAY A BULLET

HIT MY WIPE IN THE- HEAD

JUST IN THE PLACE

WHERE I LEFT

HER

If

Www

.Wi

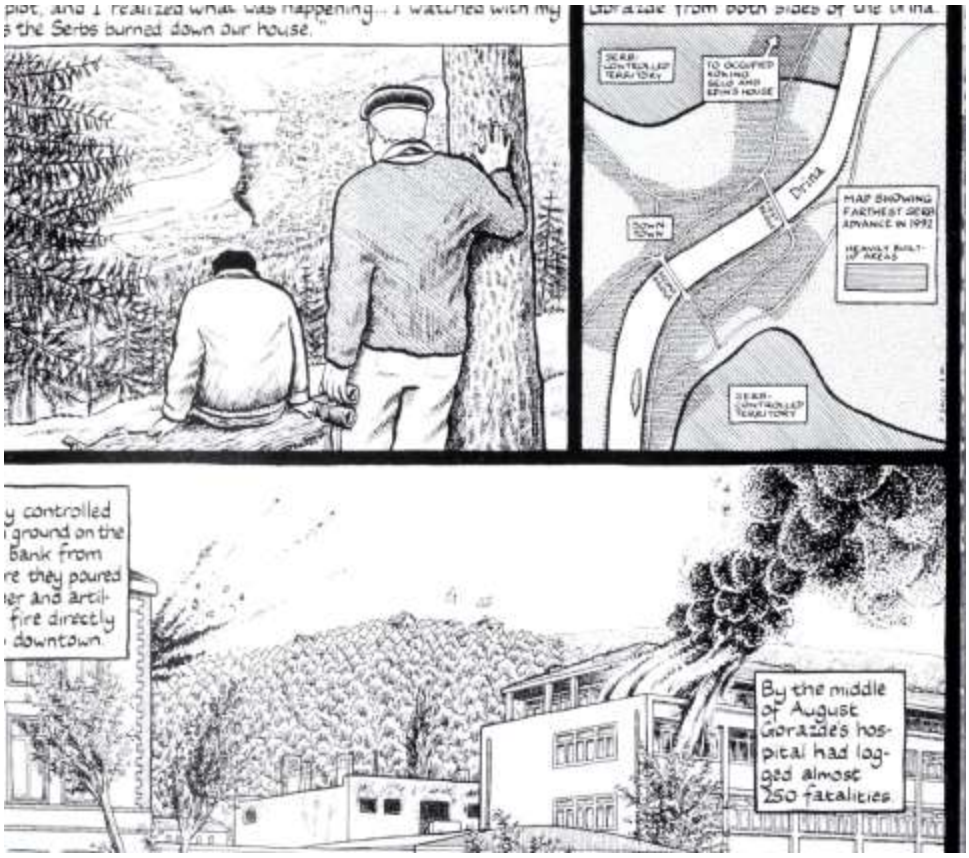
-<jA.

(He declined to ta.lk about die fate of his 5on.)

I LOST MY PAU6HTER.

"I was vatchino -from a distance, but I could tell which houses the Serbs [were burning... Two days after the attack, I could iet stroke coming (from our plot, and I realized what was happening... I watched with r lfather as the Serbs burned down our house."

\"'^%^



MY BEST FRIENDS STAYED TO THE LAST TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE... THEY HID THEMSELVES IN A SHOP AND THE SERBS CAPTURED THEM.

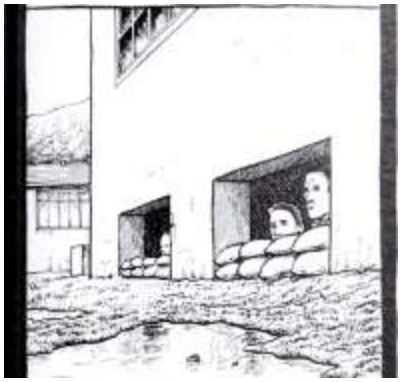
Ehat spring and summer the Serbs advanced close to the center of Gbrazde from both sides of the tinnz

They controlled hiqh around on the left bank from where they poured sniper and artillery fire directly into downtown.

CZWI —IF""

By -the middle of August ^Grorazde's hospital had logged almost 2SO fatalities

EDIN: "I was in Kopaci during that time... 1 was in a unit keeping positions in a huge old building, a warehouse for corn



"Our forces captured seven Serbs at the TV transmission tower in August. I was guarding them. I knew some of them They weren't dose.

friends, but sometimes we'd been together drinking. I Spoke to them, trying to get information about what happened in Kokino Selo. At first theu didn't want to talk. They said theu

didn't know what happened to my friends who'd been captured.

"Then one of" those guus told me exactly who had burned down mg house. It was our neighbors. Dado, three uears younger than me... And one caned Acko and his bnoBier, Miro. We used to play football together We used to go out at night, and if we didn't go put, we used to spend the evenings together on our street."

V WHY OO YOU THINK THEY SURNEP DOWN YOUR HOM£?

i don't know.

I WOULD UK£

TO ASK

THEM

ings together on our street.
AND WHAT HAPPENED TO THOSE SERB PRIS-ONERS?
SOME TIME LATER THEY WERE MOVED TO GORAZDE
THEY WERE EXE-CUTED
FOR SURE

T L late August and '—' September; Bosnian -forces counterattacked, and the Serbs retreated ■from Gorazde to avoid being cut off Though wo&ftillu underarmed, Bosnian troops pursued the Serbs toward Vise-grad in the northeast and Foca in the south-| west. Meanwhile £din's unit advanced from Kopad -to take back territory vacated by •the Serbs

"Wt

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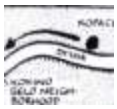
.«tS*»^'«l** , (ii.-

"Over the night the Serbs left in panic fn?m Kokino £>elo

because they were scared we would encircle them We realised it in the mom in a... About 2.0, 30 of us advanced down the main road toward froraide.

DOWNTOWN

ooftAtoe



'1 wanted to see if there was anything left ■from my house, if there was still a roof We had hidden our TV, gold,money underground, around the house. Purs, clothes, tools... I wasn't patient... I found a bicycle in a garage and I was the first person, who came frow\ Kopaci to Kokino Selo.

»/

"Our soldiers had already come -from the direction of froraide. Civilians as well.

R

"The house was completely burned. 1 couldn't believe it. Only the garaye was left... And whatever wed hidden, the Serbs fbuno. 1 couldn't even find a nail.

"We stayed three months with the Serbs during their occupation. After that, if someone came to our house m uniform and armed, he would start barking vtr^ hard.

"I was very thirsty, and 1 went into same houses looking for something to drink, Serb houses They were already broken into. Refugees, people from town, estr^ore was coming looking {or food. They were robbing houses. I found some vodka...

-^

"People were cdurr^na out Tv/s. Ihe Serbs had been collecting from Muslim homes from May till September And I was looking for ours. It was from Germany, a couple of months old, a Grrundig. My father had paid 2000 dm for it. The only one, I'm sure, in town.

Ai

IS IT A GGUNDl^i MAY I SE£ IT FROM THE

front'

i%

ki_

After seven or eight televisions, I realized it was useless. I was losing time looking -for -the television... I took a wheelbarrow. I took vod£a and a wheelbarrow.

"People were burning down Serb homes. Most of the Muslim homes had already been burned down by the Serbs.

IJ

f«;£■§

*3

i>J^r',

"Some people didn't want to take anything. They just wanted to burn Theg were very angry. They didn't care about anything. Vou couldn't say anythmq €o anyone. Teoole were scared and out of control.

WL>

"I found my brother at our house. He had juice. We were talking, drinking.

"We -found our front door at the house of a Serb neighbor: I

phis man had three children and was very poor My mother!

was always bringing them things, always inviting nis

wife in fbr a drink- he must have liked our front door

» >^l^fi L

M\

"He had found my skis and fishing rods in the houses o\ the people who burned down our house. I

"1he same day, in the afternoon, a refugee mentioned that there was a body in a housefjrther up than mine. 1 went to look with my father

m

w.

^

•^Ws^

Wi

11 We recoymz-|ed our neiyh-

bor by his

clothes. He I was dead for jthree months.

Probably

they'd poured lyasoline or

something on I | him to burn

him up.

iiiiiiiiiiiii.wii

3>

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? ,-^»£>2>V**,

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>

"I didht be lieve at that moment that

5^ it was possi-

4] ble, but it had been. My father couldn't eat anuthinq irx those days. I It was a I biy shock {or us, for the people who I saw that

"We found five bodies in three houses.

We iust couldn't believe our neighbors I ccJid do something like that, burmnq Mdown our homes, kiTlinq people, burn-

B: -iq them. J r

(*%

ARE YOU

SURE IT WAS •YOUR SERB NEIGHBORS ?

MOSTLY- THAT'S FOR SuRE. THEY LEFT BfcHiNP A NOTEBOOK. THEY LEFT IT IN SOME GARBAGE IN A STREAM ABOVE M*y HOUSE. A WHOLE LIST OP NAMES, SURNAMES, AND WHAT KiMP OF WEAPONS THEY CARRIED.

FIFTY-NINE OF THEM FROM MY

NEIGHBORHOOD.

AND

I KNEW

THEM

ALL.

-=£?-

y

"tfu father, iviu brother, and r decided to find materials to repair the house We looked around the whole area, in peoples homes, in warehouses, and we found brand new roo$-inq tiles and •timber We took whatever we wanted. We -found cement and lime in a Serb house. Who knows? Mau-be theu belonged to a Muslim..

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4=3

"We cleaned the walls completely dou/n to the bricks and put on plaster In 40 days we fixed the roof and made two rooms livable.'

(■■'

^C©

-.;'

ff\j|ot until the following March did 1 —' Izefc and uoraxde discover what had happened to his son and some of the others captured by the Serbs dur-ng their first attack

■

MW NEi&H&Og. TOLD ME THEN HAP FOUND SOME BODIES, MASSACRED, DEAD FOR MOUTHS, iw THE SAME ORAVE WITH A DOG BuRjED ON TOP OF THEM

• ". ■

"The bodies had alreadu | been moved P -to the new

'cemetery

***<

;' ; ':' """.I

"it was terrible Smellinq. Worms, peath We recognized them mainlu from their clothes but also -frorn their hair.. and the | features of their faces. There was still skin

"The total was seven.., and fr>m that seven,

• ->«V •■• two were mu " best friends.

■v. v.

',*-.

^•^' J

was with me n school r 12 years here was dirt in his Stomach. Probably they'd cut open his stomach.

"Sen ad

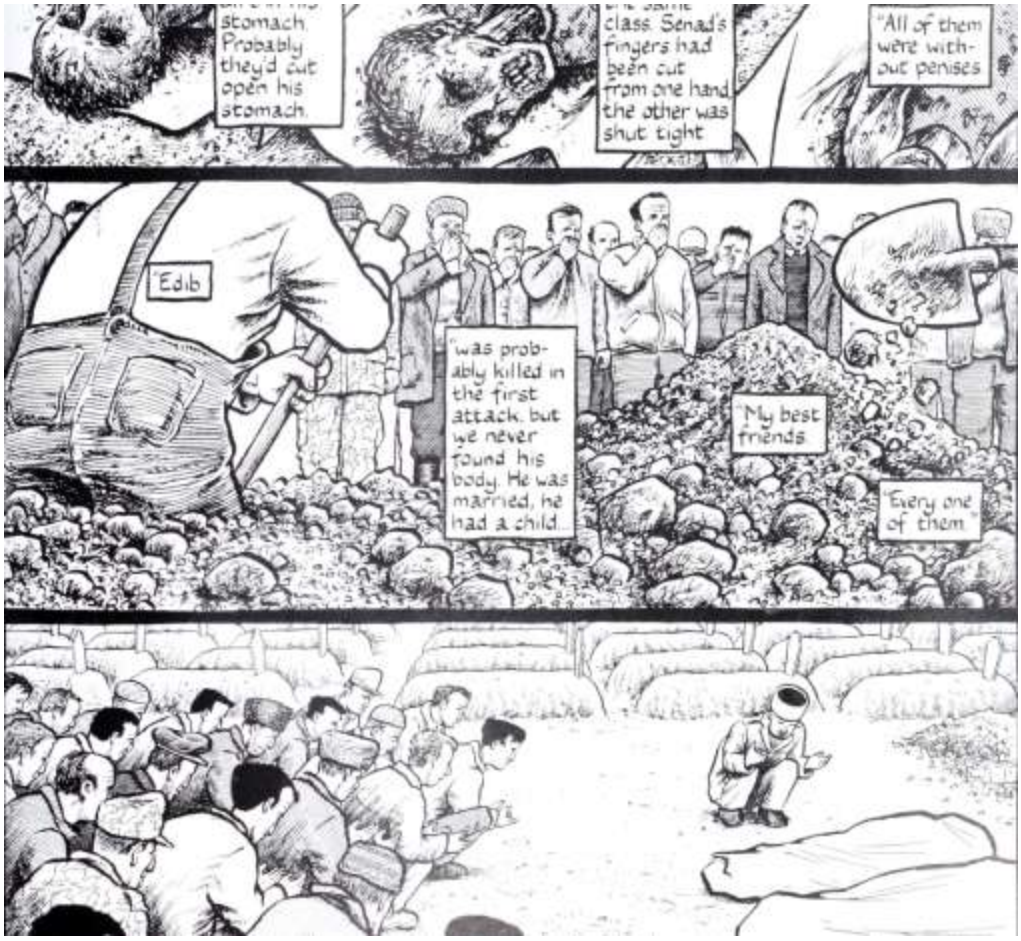
"V JS

y four uears in

;| the fame class. Senad's

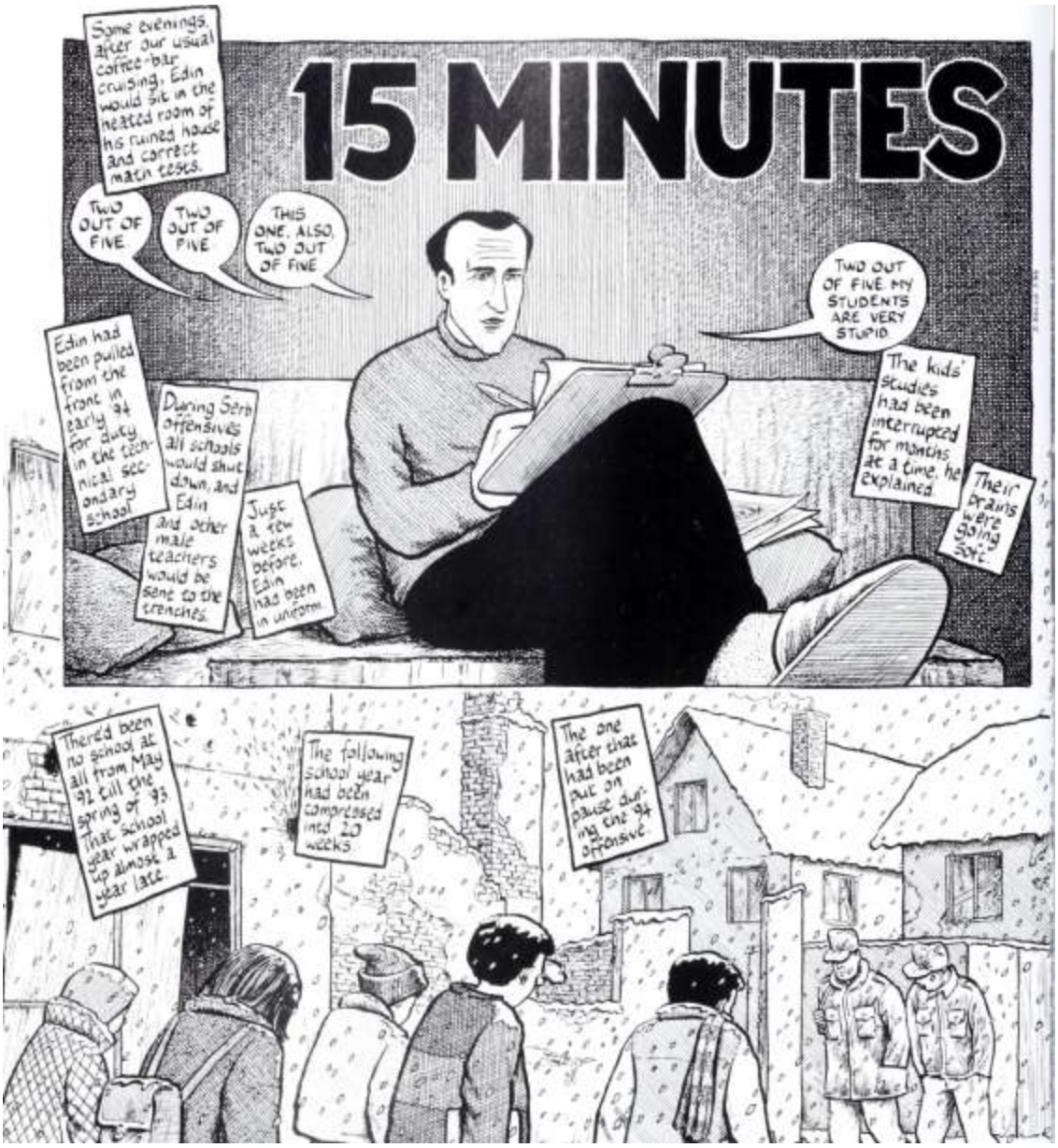
f myers had been cut ^^jfrom one hand, Sir the other was

Shut tiyht


stomach. Probably they'd cut open his stomach.
class. Senad's fingers had been cut from one hand the other was shut tight
"All of them were without penises
Edib
"was probably killed in the first attack. but we never found his body. He was married, he had a child.
My best friends
"Every one of them"

"All of them were without pemses

^r+ ...


15 MINUTES
Some evenings, after our usual coffee-bar cruising, Edin would sit in the heated room of his ruined house and correct math tests.
TWO OUT OF FIVE
TWO OUT OF FIVE
THIS ONE, ALSO, TWO OUT OF FIVE
TWO OUT OF FIVE. MY STUDENTS ARE VERY STUPID
Edin had been pulled from the front in early '94 for duty in the technical secondary school
During Serb offensives all schools would shut down, and Edin and other male teachers would be sent to the trenches.
Just a few weeks before, Edin had been in uniform
The kids' studies had been interrupted for months at a time, he explained.
Their brains were going soft.
There'd been no school at all from May '92 till the spring of '93. That school year wrapped up almost a year late.
The following school year had been compressed into 20 weeks
The one after that had been put on pause during the '94 offensive

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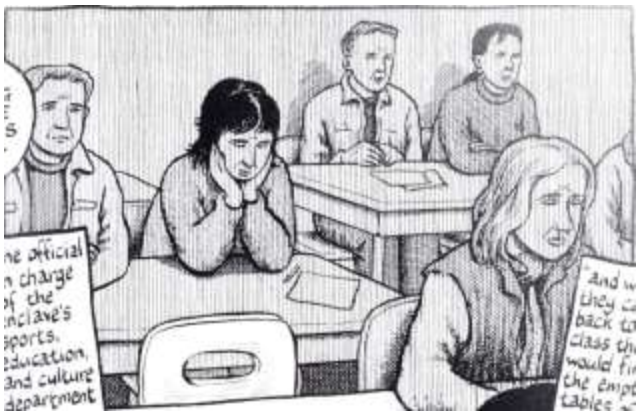

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"illed or funded.

"Also many of them lost parents, their sisters, their houses.
"After every offensive some of them had to change their living places.
"And all the time it was very danger-ous on the trip from school to home."

Some kids weren't bothering to make the trip at all.
This 17 year old, a refugee from Kuda lived with his brother and two sisters in one room of a burned-out house
His mother had been killed by a shell out front two and a half years ago
MY SISTERS STILL GO TO SCHOOL. BUT I SPEND MY TIME WITH FRIENDS.
Other kids were only nominally in school.
On one occasion a student stopped by Edin's place with an older man.
The man explained that he'd been close friends with the boy's teacher, who'd been killed in the war
COULD YOU PLEASE PASS THE BOY WITH A GOOD GRADE?
Edin told him the boy was hopeless at his studies
The man insisted
THE BOY HAS WORKED WITH THE ARMY FOR TWO YEARS. HE DELIVERS BREAD AND SUPPLIES BY HORSE TO THE FRONT
THE SOLDIERS LOVE HIM.
Edin offered to speak to the boy's commander to get him released from duty for a few weeks. Then the boy could learn the subjects well. (He was also flunking history and chemistry)
But the boy didn't want that
I WANT TO KEEP DELIVERING BREAD TO THE SOLDIERS
After they'd left
THE MAN SAID THE BOY IS A HARDSHIP CASE
IS HE A HARDSHIP CASE?
EVERYONE HERE IS A HARDSHIP CASE

The hardship cases who actually went to school were served by a system tottering under wartime strain.
The facilities had not fared well.
This secondary school, one of three in Gorazde, had been gutted.
Other school buildings were damaged or were being used to house refugees.
Gorazde was jammed with people, and kids went to school in shifts. One girl told me she was going only three times a week, taking 13 subjects in 35-minute periods.
IT'S NOT ENOUGH. YOU CAN'T LEARN ANYTHING.
Classes were without heat and light, and children scrounged for basic supplies.
PENCIL?
PENCIL?
Only seven of her 13 instructors were certified teachers, she said. The Serb teachers had left, and many Muslim teachers had escaped before the war. Some new teachers had come in with the refugees, she said, but many instructors were university students, like Edin, who hadn't yet finished their studies.
EVEN MY DAD IS TEACHING.
HE'S AN ENGINEER BUT HE'S TEACHING MINERALOGY.
JOKER, DAD?

Gorazde wasjanvifYigd with people, and kids went to school in swifts. One qirl told me

she was

35^3 only

tnree times,* week, taking 13 subjects in 35-Mmute periods.

OnLj seven of

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class**"*

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instructor, wKo had no Computers, also u/as

EH

This computer instructor, who had no computers, also was teaching theory
MY STUDENTS HAVEN'T HAD A CHANCE TO SWITCH ON A COMPUTER.
SOME OF THEM HAVE NEVER EVEN SEEN A COMPUTER.

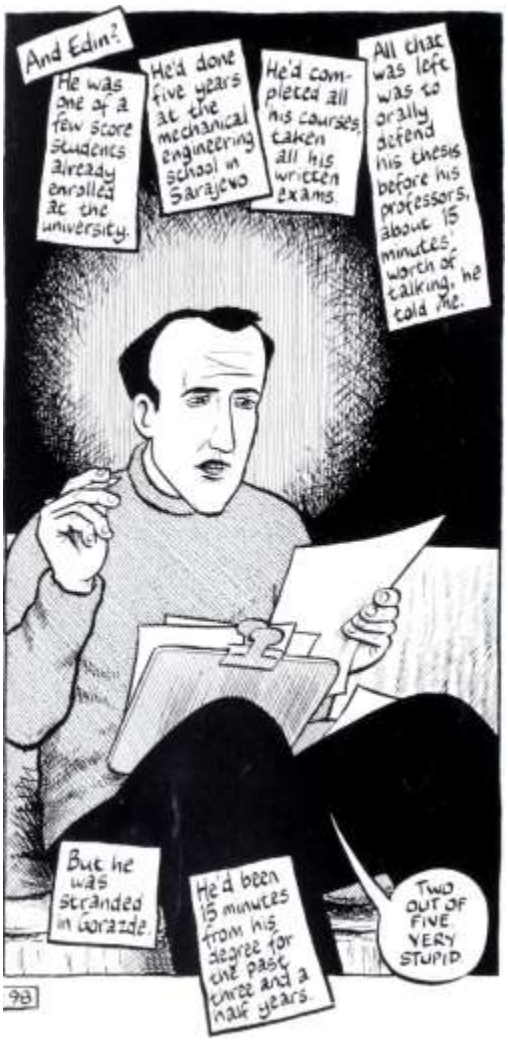
Meanwhile,-for students who Kid finished secondary school during the war, the university m Sarajevo i*iatj as wdll have been a million Miles a.uty-

*^' _^

I PONT £VfcN H/W£ A TRACK SUIT fOR

MfSfctF,

Without any equipment and with his gym a rent, this physical ed instructor was mainly teaching theory to his classes
I DON'T EVEN HAVE A TRACK SUIT FOR MYSELF


And Edin?
He was one of a few score students already enrolled at the university.
He'd done five years at the mechanical engineering school in Sarajevo
He'd completed all his courses, taken all his written exams
All that was left was to orally defend his thesis before his professors, about 15 minutes worth of talking, he told me.
But he was stranded in Gorazde.
He'd been 15 minutes from his degree for the past three and a half years.
TWO OUT OF FIVE VERY STUPID
93

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JONES, WHO WAS Z4

THerJ, suep president

CLINTON fOR $7OO,0j3 fOd ALLEGEPtf VIOLATING HER. CIVIL R.IGHT5 BY MAKlNfi- UNWEUOMED S£*»4\L APVANCES TOWARP HER IN A LITTLE ft<?CK HOTEL

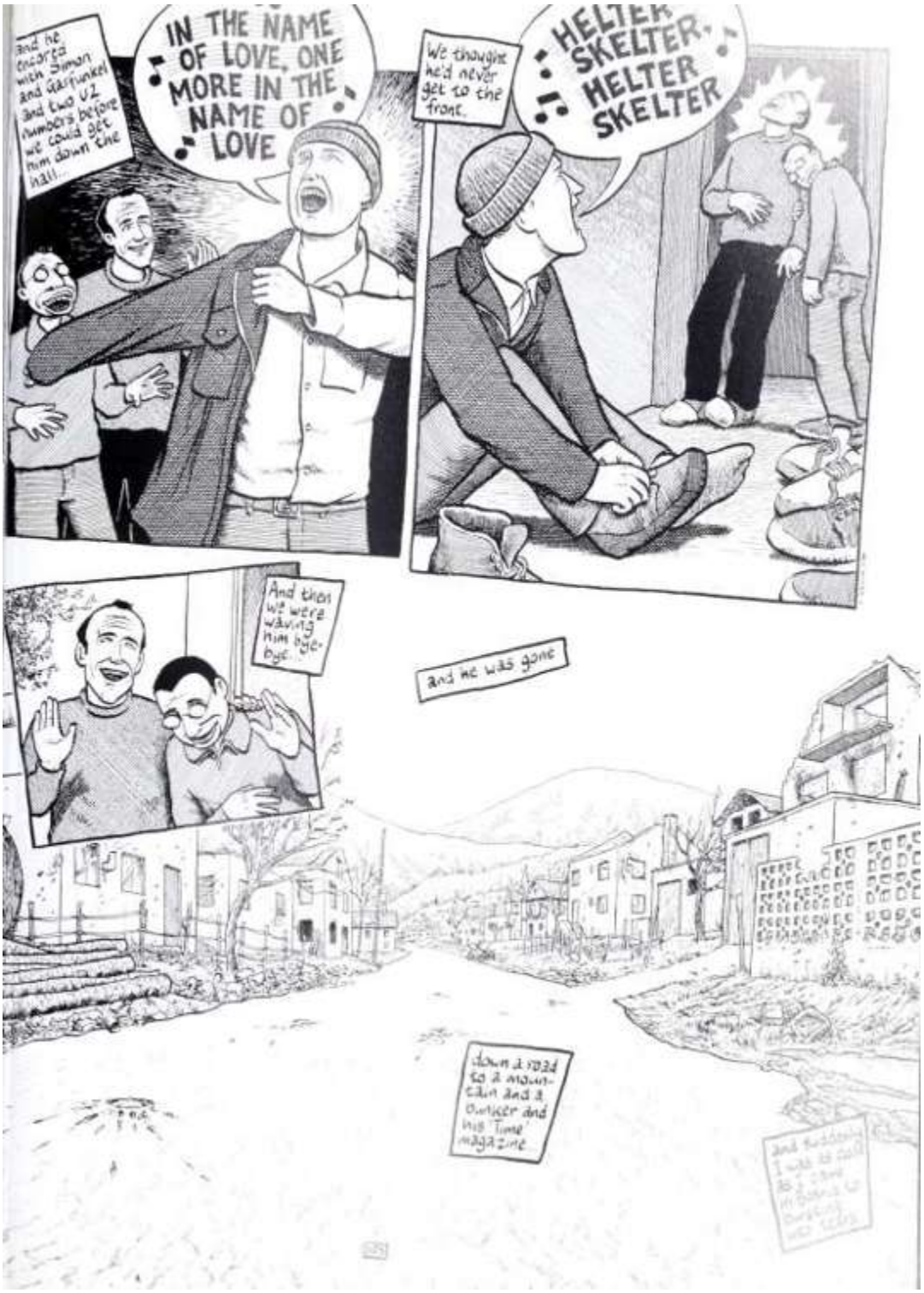
" PAULA JONES CHARGES THAT PRES |P£NT CLINTON SPOTTED HER IN THE HOTEL, SUMMONED HER. TO HIS ROOM, ANP MAPE A SUJNT SEXUAL PROPOSITION."

?
I HAVE MEMORIZED IT FROM 'TIME' MAGAZINE WHEN I WAS ON THE BATTLE-LINE.
It was boring in the mountains, he said. cold in the trenches and boring.
Generally, the cease-fire was holding.
He and his comrades played cards. he said, they traded insults with the Serbs 100 meters away.
and Riki read and reread his old copy of Time.

I MUST BE STUB-BORN
I MUST LEARN ENGLISH
AMERICAN ENGLISH!
And there I was, with the genuine article pouring out of my mouth, and Riki squeezed me for every drop of usage and conjugation he could.
Not just that, he pressed me for lyrics of oldies he only half knew.
That night I produced some Beatles and Stones I'd written out since my last trip to Gorazde.
WHEN YOU'RE SITTING BACK, IN YOUR ROSE-PINK CAD'ILLAC, MAKING BETS ON KENTUCKY DERBY DAY...
YES! OH! I AM SO GRATE-FUL!
YEAH. I KEPT GOING OVER IT IN MY HEAD, AND IT TOOK ME A FEW DAYS TO FIGURE OUT THE WORDS.
"FIGURE OUT."
YOU SAID, "IT TOOK ME A FEW DAYS TO FIGURE OUT THE WORDS."
And I'd explain the meaning. And me and Edin would jot down the new phrase in the small notebooks they carried.
Two or three expressions I imagine them first night became perennial favorites.
"IT'S NOTHING TO WRITE HOME ABOUT."
"YOU'RE FULL OF SHIT."
YES! I AM SO GRATE-FUL YOU ARE TEACHING US AMERICAN ENGLISH.

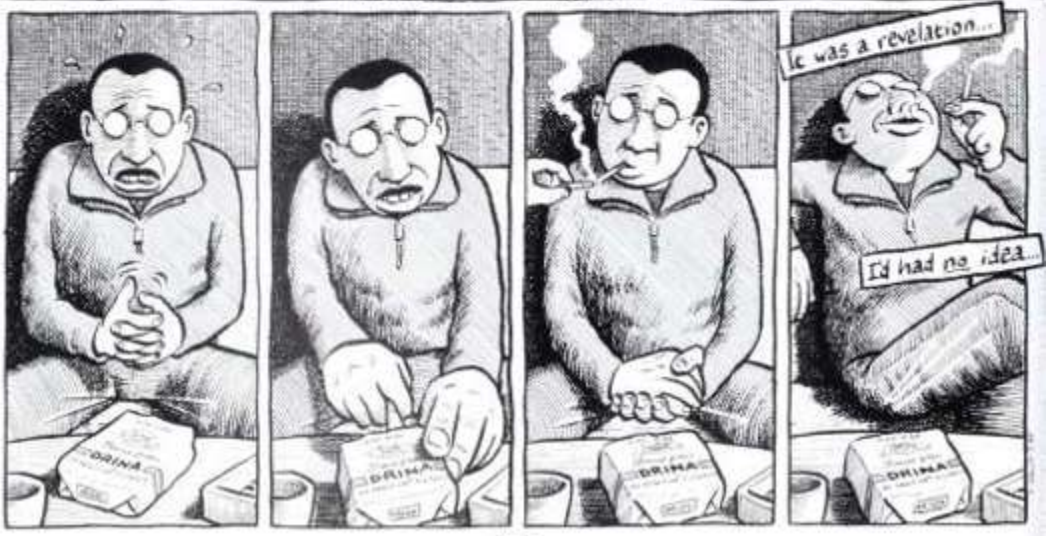
Later that night, we walked to Edin's where we convinced Riki to watch a video with us and stay over.
I SHOULD HAVE BEEN BORN IN AMERICA
MY SOUL IS IN THE WEST
I WANT TO SEE ALL THE AMERICAN CITIES
NEW YORK... LOS ANGELES
IF YOU LIKE, YOU CAN LEAVE FOR AMERICA IN THE MORNING
We had a good laugh about this, Edin and I.
and then I consoled Riki. I said he could make it to America when the war was over.
When the war was over.
"YOU'RE FULL OF SHIT!"
YOU'RE FULL OF SHIT!"
Early in the morning, Riki woke up, walked back to his place, and returned with some cassettes
I HAVE WRITTEN DOWN THE NAMES OF SOME SONGS PERHAPS YOU CAN "FIGURE OUT" THE LYRICS WHILE I AM ON THE BATTLE-LINE

He really had to go he said, but we convinced him to stay for breakfast.
Then he really had to go but he stayed for dessert too.
And then coffee
AND NOW I MUST GO IMMEDIATELY AND PREPARE MYSELF FOR THE BATTLE-LINE.
By all means he said, but first a song!
And the curtains opened and thousands cheered and...
ON A DARK DESERT HIGHWAY...
COOL WIND IN MY HAIR
and Riki stumbled and started again, ignoring our laughter...


And he encores with Simon and Garfunkel and two U2 numbers before we could get him down the hall.
IN THE NAME OF LOVE, ONE MORE IN THE NAME OF LOVE
We thought he'd never get to the front.
HELTER SKELTER. HELTER SKELTER
And then we were waving him bye-bye.
and he was gone
down a road so a mountain and a canyon and his Time magazine

. were relaxing, l^hind it

DRINA
I started smoking in Seattle
It was one evening. Edin and I were relaxing, laughing it up with his pals
That is, he was laughing it up, and not in English
I AM SORRY. HE IS SAYING—
Don't mind me," I said
You've been translating all day
Go ahead, have your laugh.
In your language.
But half an hour later I was fidgety, restless... going off my nut.


It was a revelation...
I'd had no idea...
DRINA

Those Drinas I started on, gotta say, they were nasty work
Most Bosnians much preferred Marlboros or Lucky Strikes, but convoys were bringing in Drinas and no one was complaining.
In its own way, the Drina was special.
It had been manufactured in Sarajevo throughout the war. It was the national smoke.
DRINA

The Pnna cigarette is named -for the famous river that runs along the border with Serbia and also thrown the Bosnian towns of Visegrad, Gorazde, And fbca. Visegrad and foca had been ethnically cleansed in 1991 &nd were now in Serb hands...

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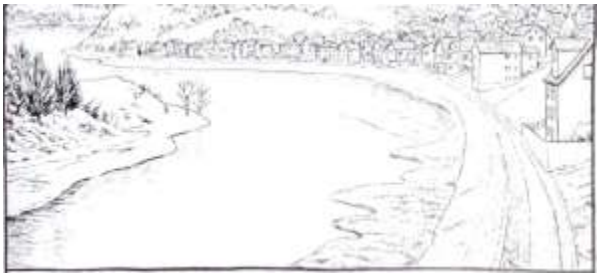


Gorazde was full of refugees from those two towns, and I asked c"din to translate some of their storias for me...

It wore him out, visiting ref^aees, seeing how thetj lived. Hed had his owni problems, he $3nd, and the whole war thusfar he'd avoided theirs.

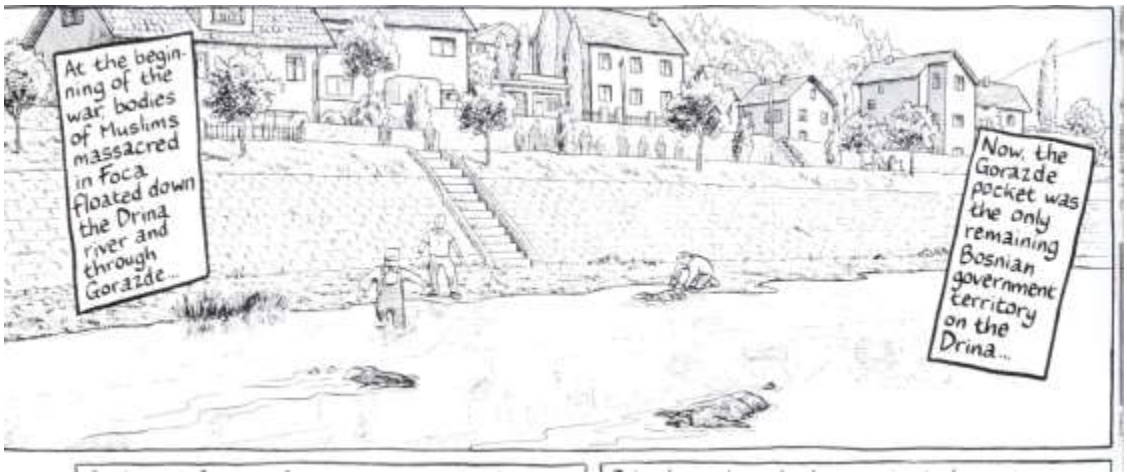
,tX-r4,

"TPiis woman didn't want to tell us what happened to her husband in Vise^racL

Reluctantly, this woman let us in from the rain to describe what she'd seen there, but onlt) to a pomt,.

1 HAVEN'T

TOLD 100 EVERYTHING. IVE SEEM PEOPLE WITH THEIR ESES CUT


At the beginning of the war, bodies of Muslims massacred in Foca floated down the Drina river and through Gorazde...
Now, the Gorazde pocket was the only remaining Bosnian government territory on the Drina...

Soldiers defending Gorazde were paid m Dnnas, 2,0 packs a month while I was there (Getting paid at all was a recent development)

School teachers had just started earning Dnnas, too 0<\ pau, dacj they'd o,et their wages in a plastic bag and smoke some up in the staff room.

106
They were also lighting up in the nurses lounge at the hospital...
They had stories for Edin to translate there, too...
The head nurse of surgery had been the only medically trained person tending to thousands of Muslims retreating from Visegrad in 1992...
IN THOSE DAYS I DIDN'T SLEEP, I DIDN'T EAT ANYTHING, I ALWAYS HAD BLOODY HANDS.

\3ned had no suppli

bandages, and during the operations she improvised, '~akjja' — brandy.

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In Sarajevo, manyi urban people droned on about! the "pnmitivism" tf the eastern Bosnian refugees fill<n^ -the«r proudly cosmopobt&n Citu,

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Meanwh.le ; Ed,n had pu t-twand <xotogethe^

1 nv .,.:;_ ' <:!■::■■■■ _:■'■■:■■ ■

KS^AaOfcAZDE NE.E.DS SNR.AJE.VO, &UT SARAJEVO DOESN'T NEED *8S vGOP-AZ.DE.

•i:.:-

I used -to joke that if his qovernment traded awaq Uorazde in a peace deal, Bosnia would havi no -territory left on -the Drina and would have to change the name of its cigarette.

I SPENT

SIX DAYS IN

OOftAZDC BEfORE

RETURNING TO

VlSEGRAD.

A LOT OF

soldiers had come from serbia, the u2icki corps, and we were thinking, its our armx they've liberated

VlSEGRAD FROM THE CHETNIKS, AMD THAT'S WHV W£ WENT BACK.

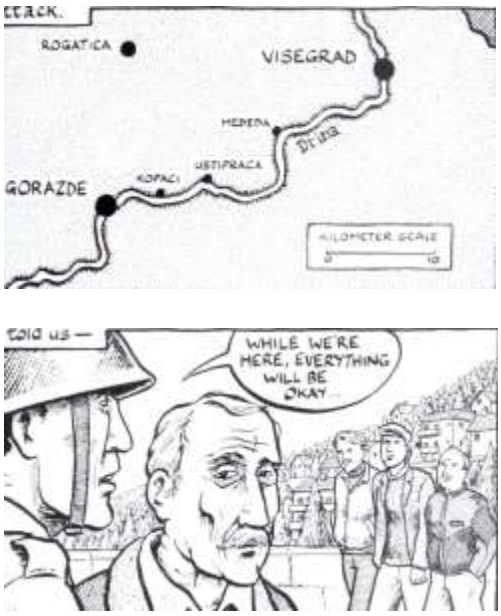
Everything STARTED TO SEEM UKE NORMAL

AGAIN

(Tin the Sprmqf LkJofl992,manu I Muslims Still *' trusted the I Serbian-dominated Jugoslav People's Army [(JNA) to protect | , them-from the 'Serb national-ist militias.

In April Muslims had beyun to leave Viseyrad, a town I "The Uzicki Corps spent one month in Viseyrad. made famous by Ivo Andnc's Nobel Prize-winning I They took the weapons from the Muslims and^oave novel, "[he Bndqe on the Oritya.', -for Gorazde, which I weapons to the Serbs. Uuus

from the Uzicki Corps was 30 kilometers upnver Bund was not yet under [told us — attack.



Many Muslims returned to Vtseorad when the JNA promised them security in their awn homes.

'TheUzicki Corps left Viseyrad on May 18... and the Serbs started to bum viHayes... to kill people around Viseyrad, and they put the town under sie^e"

But

WHE.N WE LEAVE DON'T EXPECT GOOD THINGS]

i was an eyewitness

when serbs brought

^muslims to the bridge on

the drinA and Pushed

them into the river

and shot them

0 ~~

"SP"

'I was in Viseo,rad until June I?and I saw almost everything. Mm home was between two bridges and fwatched what happened.

r

"They did that by night. The Serbs took my neighbors from their flats, even without shoes. They said to them—
YOU DON'T NEED SHOES.
YOU'RE GOING TO BE KILLED IN A FEW MINUTES.
"I was in Visegrad
saw almost everyt
between two bridge
what happened.

60ING Tt7

BE KlU£P

in A FEW

MINUTES

"All nyht the Chetniks were takinj people, even children, women, and uou could hear spiashioq in the river

X

I "Sometimes theu shot them, but Itheu, preferred lo cut their 1 throats-

CM ST .: V

b~Jl SBS, * mi

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§ I

"In onlt) three days and three niohts I saw \ 1-300 killed."

LW

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"The worst things happened on June &. If the Chetniks caught someone, they killed them on the spot."

W£R£ PEOPLE RESISTING ? WERE THEY SCREAMING?

"The worst things happened on June 8. If the Chetniks caught someone, they killed them on the spot."
WERE PEOPLE RES ISTING? WE THEY SCRE ING?
WERE
YES, BUT ONLY
BUT DID
YES.

IF SOME-BO OY STARTED TO RUN, THEY .~ JUST SHOT J^vJIr! ft

THEM.

^ 1

But nobody

COULPHElpJ THEM.

^^ JtneiiiiH-

m u

ilk no

WEAPONS.

NOTHING.

were Wyes, but only they h the males.

TlEP^^I MOT WOMEN AND CHILDREN

r-** ^

^M

BUT 010 THEY STILL

_ On June to I was an eyewitness when the Chetniks KiuL women II course Jam brouqht tw<? families - both families had three kids-Anp ^'LP'^^g «5^^ an d killed them behind the bndoe.

R£N :

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7LN

"fheu cut their -throats and pushed -them in the nyer.. I "And I was an eyewitness when a Chetnik The £uso and Sabanovic families. -First they killed the meat off the breast o{ one. of the mothers, who children... i^— — m was trying -to protect her kids.

l#l

4

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m^jhts in the forest because the worst things \^trt hap- ■ People from. Viseqrad. I kr\ew them all. pen mq at mo}\t...

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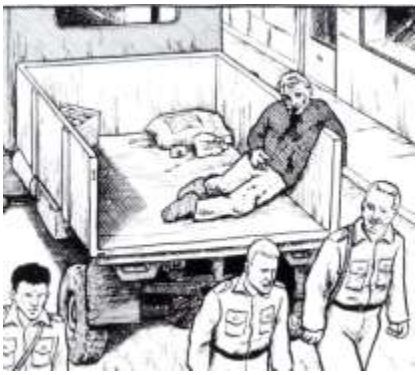
"They broke 12 of mu teeth and my nose One of them I "They put me in a vehicle. I wanted to es-|took a picture from che wall and smashed it over mu. head.I cape but I couldn't waik 1 felt a terrible

| pain in mu leq

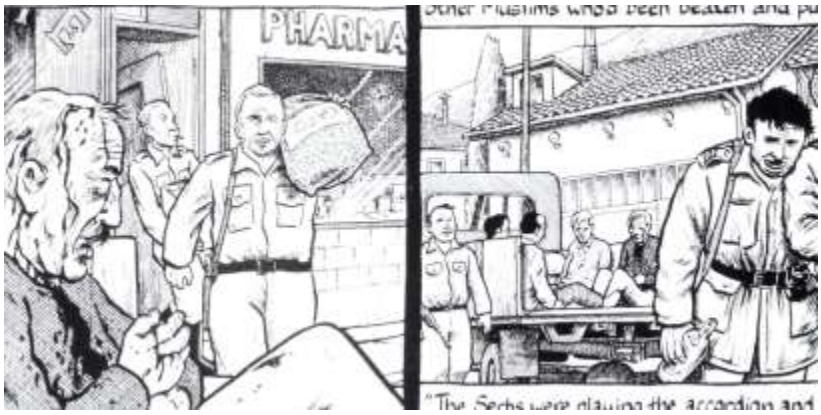
./

U£9£ M&OINfr STRAIGHT 1 TO THE &HID6E Tfl CUTltfiift THROAT/



"1 watched wh.le theu, robbed a shop

"Another \Q Chetniks came to rob thinqs, 2nd -theu brought three other Muslims who'd bttn btdX&n and put them with me.



"The Serbs were pUyinq the &ccordior\ and drinkinq and Singing.

"A Serb neighbor saw me all bloody andcame over

IM

to sav£ iou.

"A Serb neighbor saw me all bloody and came over.
WHAT'S GOING ON?
IF YOU CAN, SAVE ME
KEEP YOUR MOUTH SHUT.
I'M GOING TO SAVE YOU!
BUT IF YOU WANT TO STAY ALIVE, YOU HAVE TO HELP LOAD THE TRUCK.

"I couldn't because of mu leg, but I received things while the other Muslims brought them...

3

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t^* 1 /

whem you're finished

WITH THIS Jo&, WE'RE £0|N£ TO TAKE YOU TO, THE 6RiD«£ AND KlU. YOU.

A£?

"Then the Chetnik commander ordered me to his office and my neighbor helped me down. 1 —T

f£\

mmmymwmm***

THANkS TO YOUR. NEIGHBOR, YOU CAN CO HOME, BUT

STAY THERE

CAN YOU £IV£ ME SOME KIND OF

permission so 1 can cross the bridge ? i'm scared

SOMEONE WIU-SToP ME

IF 1 CiVE YOU SUCH A THING WITH MV NAME ON IT, IT'S SUICIDE FORME-

STAY THERE
"He said I should report to the Red Cross building at 5:30 the next morning for evacuation.
THE BRIDGE? I'M SCARED SOMEONE WILL STOP ME
SUICIDE FOR ME.
JUST TRUST IN GOD.
they were killed.
"I went home.
113

"The Chetmks put the other Muslims back on the truck and I didn't see them again. I suppose they were killed.

"At II p.m., the neighbor who saved me came to my house. He bandaged my throat.

Tffl HELP YOU feSCAPE TONIGHT

*I ThiisJK

there are

2^ two Places you can pass

_THftOu£H

!«?'

'We tned those places, but we couldn't] \pass We came directJu where the Chet-I

Iniks were bnnqinq aloe of people and I Ikillinqthem. Mostly women and children]

MftflW'-A

7 srtVi. . ■■■■**.-1

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'jt...!iSS^'°

1 returned home.

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| i . : . ' .:: : :i:hliJ^!?TTaIli

"At 5a.m., I left to cross to the other side of the Dnna.

" 1 met a Serb quy Id known before the war 1 told him where 1 was 0,0 inq.

Mirko Lakic was a butcher before the war, and I was an eye-

W)

PONT you

see what That gui lakic <S

THE , Btir«e'

PONT

uO THEfi-E-

vm*

witness when some Chetniks took two guys fromLakics cai; and

0K* ri

*^^^t luuituuisttuii! ^S. ; JME

\\\f ' 'law' ■'." ■ i^rvilSI v 3SH ; ft?l«' ; !t

Lakic cut their throats and pushed them in the river 14]

together 1 saw ten people I 'After Lakic killed his last victim l"and when I opt to the. middle of killed in the same place. Ihe left for the other side. I made ithe bridge.

Hthe decision to cross...

TT

'1 saw a lot of bbod, maybe ten meters around and two centimeters deep...■"and I was walking

H -through the blood.

"and I saw three pairs of shoes, a man's, a woman's, and h ach,lds,-M " of blood. P=j

"And when 1 crossed the B"And this Chetnik saw me.

bndqe 1 saw one of the Chetniks whdd beaten me the day before... cros$\r\o, m the opposite direction

'> '■%

St y ■

M/i.

"He stopped in the middle of the bridge, ■" 1 went to the Red T'The woman who was making the list

and someone helped him put U bodies WCross to put my name on Bwas a Serb friend of mu daughters in the Drina, ano one of those bodies I the list- for the convoy I They'd gone to school together. 1 had r\o head

I CAN'T put your

NAME ON THE UlSt I KNOW WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO

TRY

TO FIND

SOME OTHER L

WAV lO

LEAVE

VlSE^RAPJ

"1 asked her -for some suggestion. I "I didn't know what to do. I thought

"I went back to the Serb woman.

"I asked her for some suggestion.
I CAN'T.
I'M AFRAID.
IF SOMEBODY EVEN SEES ME TALKING TO YOU, I'M GOING TO HAVE TROUBLE.
"I didn't know what to do. I thought maybe I'd cross the bridge again, but I saw two more bodies I hadn't seen before, and I changed my mind.
"I went back to the Serb woman.
TRY TO FIND A SECRET PLACE.
ARKAN AND HIS TROOPS ARE COMING.
"And I knew that Arkan's troops killed Serbs, too, if they helped Muslims.

" I waited -for the convou of three buses and three trucks. Then a

I woman reaj names and people, opt

Ion the buses.

"And she put mu name on the list.

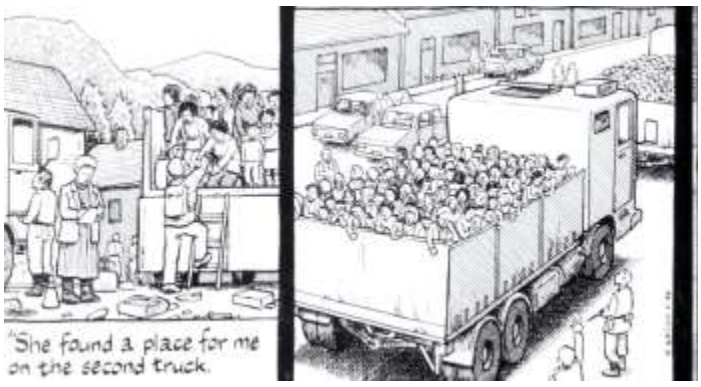
~ CS>-

"She found a. place for me ow the second truck.

"And I knew that Arkan's troops killed Serbs, too, if they helped Muslims.

"There were ?5 people in this truck, all women and children except for me and another man."

TJcr



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U^asim and l±a the others were taken dose to Bosnian lines and released. He was lucky. (2n previous convoys, men had been routinely separ-ateden route and killed.

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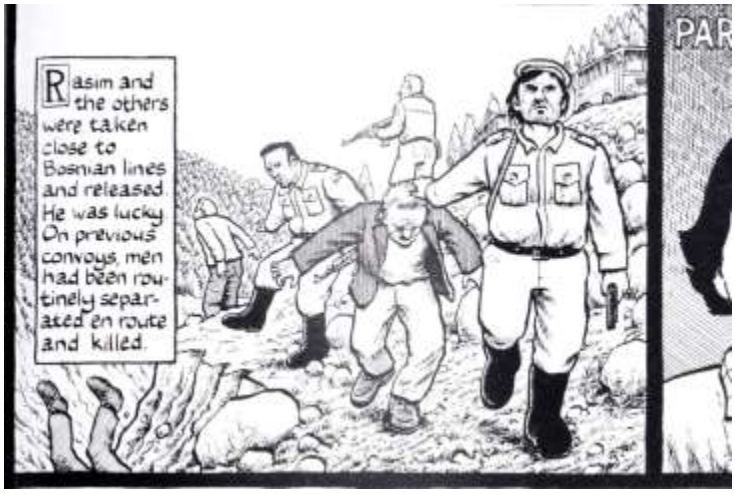
Rasim and the others were taken close to Bosnian lines and released. He was lucky. On previous convoys, men had been routinely separated en route and killed.

I came: to goraz.de

FROM THE VILLAGE OF KAPOV HAN JuST BEFORE | THE WAR, AND ON 24 APRIL I WAS SENT TO THE SPECIAL DEPARTMENT fOR PREGNANT | WOMEN AT fOCA .

f<K>-

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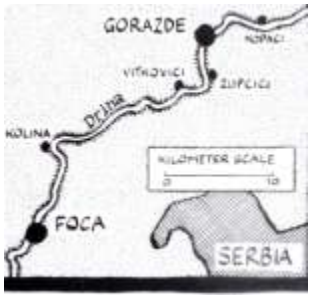
.Ip^oca is less than 25 kilometers li-l upnver from 6orazde And had the nearest hospital, uorazde had only a large clinic before the war. Muslim patients like Munira were trapped m foca after Serb -forces took coniro\ of the town.

GORAZDE



"for one month nobody touched us, and then Checnik soldiers visited us. They took all our yold and took two women from our room at 3 am.

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"One of those women had oiven birth to a dead baby before that and the other was three months preynant.

"They brouyhc them back at 9a.m.

The next niyht they came back and took four I women, the two from before and another two, who had newborn babies..

"It happened everu, mqht Iheu I cawe and to^k those -(bur wwen i all the time...

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"When 1 noticed someone was OJoiinc) in the evening hours... 1 hid under a sink in "a Jupboard.

I SAVE BIRTH TO MY DAUGHTER AlPA THERE.

JRHL

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A ftfi-r some months, Munira ^—' and the other women were told theu would be freed in a prisoner e*diange

"Everuthinq else was like normal. We qot food for the children. A Serb doctor-bald us the soldiers wouldn't touch us...

an

wuv> nt t

'and we didn't te.ll the doctors or nurses anything."

ONE EVENING, sot\e S0L.DIE.RS CAM£ WITH V£H«Cl£S] TO TAKE US. I THOUGHT W£ WOULD BE KILLED. DR.. CANCAR SAVED US.

X was exchanged later, after her father-in-law pad the 5erbs fauoodm.

"We spent two more nights in the hospitaJ, and then we were driven to the front lines.

'We were sent on our own down a road.

I'D SPENT EIGHT MONTHS IN FOCA. I DIDN'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT MY HUSBAND AND OTHER CHILDREN.
I TOLD MYSELF, IF I DON'T FIND MY FAMILY, I'LL KILL MY CHILD AND MYSELF.
Munira was reunited with her family in Gorazde
The
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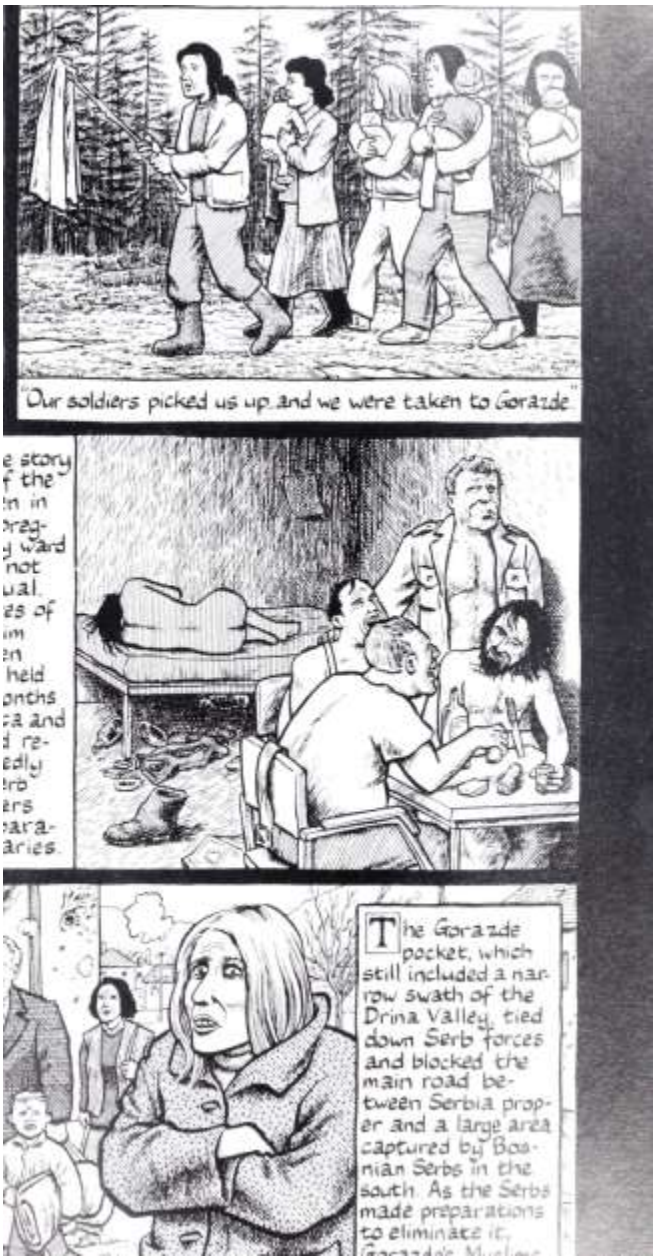
"Our soldiers picked us up and we were taken to Goražde"
The Goražde pocket, which still included a narrow swath of the Drina Valley, tied down Serb forces and blocked the main road between Serbia proper and a large area captured by Bosnian Serbs in the south. As the Serbs made preparations to eliminate it,

unira. was reunited with her family m 5ora.zd£

women in the pregnancy wand was not unusual. Scores of Muslim women w&re held for months in Foci and raped repeatedly bu Serb soldiers and paramilitaries.

Bu the end H of M92,

worazde's population had swollen to 60.000 by refugees. Mane) brouqhc 1 with them stones like Rasim's and Munira's.

tt-o

By the end of 1992, Gorazde's population had swollen to 60,000 by refugees. Many brought with them stories like Rasim's and Munira's.
The Gora pocket, still include row swath o Drina Valle down Serb and blocke main road tween Serbi er and a lar captured b nian Serbs south As th made prepa to eliminate Gorazde's M were under illusions abo likely fate s their town

^nhe 6ora-zde —'pocket, which still included a narrow Swath of the Drina Valley, tied down Serb forces and blocked the main road between Serbia proper and a larqe area captured bu Bos-IJnian Serbs m the m south. As the Serbs made preparations to eliminate it, £orazde's Muslims were under few illusions about-kelu f^te si hei? town f

Hebl H^ru, eat**? '

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M\\ertyt**' i<yess ' l

He claimed the footage was his...
he'd been first on the scene after the shells had come in, he said...
he said he'd had unlimited access to operating rooms...
An eye-ball dangling on her cheek!
Serif, overcoming her queasiness, told him she could use such a tape for Turkish television...
What was his price?
LOOK!
YOU MUST LOOK!
A close-up!
All that was left after a direct hit!
Toes!
Pulp!
That's all!

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RAPT IT ■ ; ^" """"■ :

PART II
That wasn't the first time I'd seen that footage (after which my curiosity had been exhausted) nor the last...
But the next time 'round I was in a much cooler setting. the office of Dr. Alija Begovic, the director of Gorazdes hospital.
He put on the video.
we did our interview.
and every once in a while he'd look up and recall an operation we were watching.
THIS ONE DIED.
And this girl— fully conscious and getting a bullet removed from her brain without anesthetic — had been evacuated.
I THINK SHE RECOVERED.
I'M NOT SURE.

I REMEMBER ONE GIRL, SHE WAS HIT BY AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT CANNON...
SHE WAS TWO YEARS OLD OR A LITTLE OLDER.
THERE WAS NO ANESTHETIC
SHE HAD PROLAPSED INTESTINES — THEY WERE SPILLING OUT
SHE'D JUST LEARNED TOILET TRAINING.
SHE WAS IN SHOCK, ASKING FOR A PAN TO GO TO THE TOILET IN DURING THE OPERATION.
SHE DIED ONE HOUR LATER.
He estimated that during hostilities he and his staff had performed 3-4,000 major operations — almost all war injuries — and tended to 10,000 or so other wounds.
From 79 doctors before the war, the institution was currently functioning with fewer than 20. It was still without running water.
I WOULD SEPARATE THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS BECAUSE THAT WAS THE WORST PERIOD FOR THE HOSPITAL.

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Begovic cut off his first leg with kitchen kn/vds He could dull die patient's pain onlij with a little morphine and brandy...

Nurse Sadiji Pemir; who had escaped fro^ Visearad (where she last saw her husband beii4 taken awau. by -the notorious Wh.te£&)les) and arrived in Gora^de in September v2, was put to work n'qht awatj in ■the intensive care department.

four of he ** patients died that nkjht.

WE W£R£ , OP£ f£ATiis/<5 ON PE-P.SONS WITH OLP WOONP5, ABPOMiNAL-„.,' WOUNDS SOMt 0F THEM W\ HAP B££N WOUNPED 10 OAVS BEFORE.

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WflJENT

nurses...

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DlPNT PAY

ATTENTION

TO WHAT WAS

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DAV.

"We had to learn very quickly in that time.
"We had to become surgeons.
"Fortunately we had books on war surgery.
"Of course, nobody had any kind of experience with that.
"and we were faced with terrible wounds -
Visegrad (where she last saw her husband being taken away by the notorious White Eagles) and arrived in Gorazde in September '92, was put to work right away in the intensive care department. Four of her patients died that night.
WOUNDS SOME OF THEM HAD BEEN WOUNDED 10 DAYS BEFORE...
THERE WEREN'T ENOUGH NURSES.
WE DIDN'T PAY ATTENTION TO WHAT WAS A WORKING DAY.
WE WORKED IN EVERY PLACE, IN EVERY DEPARTMENT.
IT WASN'T POSSIBLE TO ORGANIZE WELL AT THAT MOMENT.
123

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W ITS BETTER

&f OMLV ISJ /THE UAST f EW f WEEKS, WITH THE OPEMlNfir Of TH£ BLUE WAD, CAN ' wE B*£ATHE A UTTLE EASIER-

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"~I CANT UNDERSTAND WHY 'THE R£ST Of THE WORLD

HASN'T INTERVENED MORE FORCEFULLY THE U.N. IS ALWAYS POINTING. OUT ITS NEUTRALITY, EVEN NOW.

NEUTRAL* IN

WHAT?

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Slaughter

OF LAMBS

on THE

WOLVES?

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RARTHIf

DO "YOU WAMT TO MEET ONE OF GORAZPESj

mggest WAR

C&IMINALS?

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I SIMPLE

:anT believe 'such people exist 1

■someone who WOULD fodce A GRANDFATHER TO THE LIVER OF 9 GRANDSON.

I wasrit Sure" what he was referring to, and I dtdnt ask. Maube it was one of those apocryphal stories ^oirw around about the enemy, remarkably far {etched even ir\ <a war like this...

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X let die doctor gather I his thoughts, and I went I away t» dissipate r*y own

He sa.d he'd been an inductee in the Vuaoslai/ floples Amy in 1991 when his artillery unit waS sent to intervene on behalf of Serbs fighting to remove themselves from newly independent Croatia.

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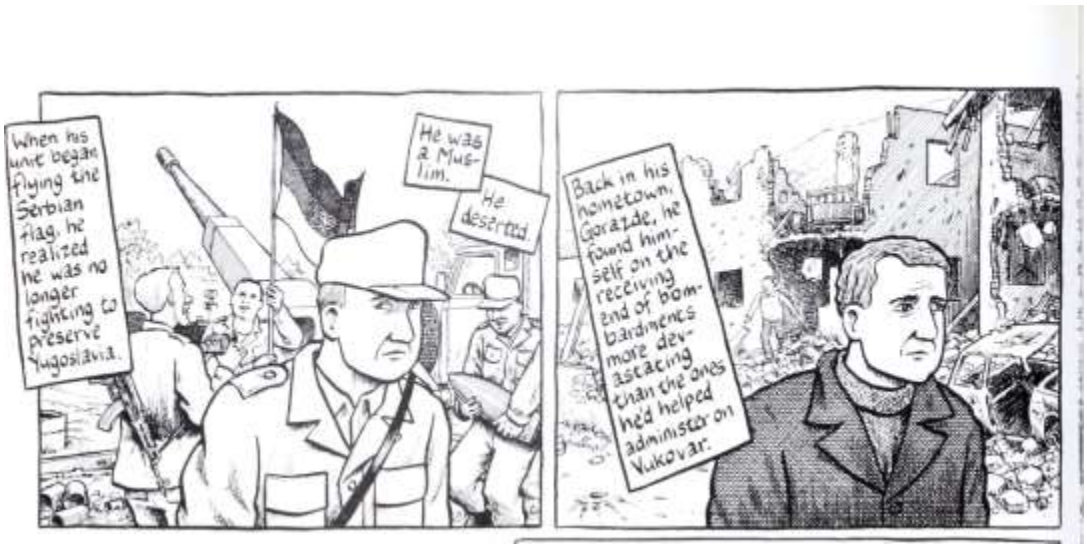
He and his unit had taken part in the nofcor bombardment of Vukovar; which killed hund


When his unit began flying the Serbian flag, he realized he was no longer fighting to preserve Yugoslavia.
He was a Muslim.
He deserted.
Back in his hometown, Gorazde, he found himself on the receiving end of bombardments more devastating than the ones he'd helped administer on Vukovar.

Many towns got pasted in the Balkan wars of the early and mid '90's.
Dubrovnik and Sarajevo endured their maulings in the living rooms of all those with a TV set.
But Gorazde had been cut off from cameras.
Its suffering was the sole property of those who had experienced it.

1 could set only the scars so o^ce a municipality worker tned to cjive we some idea of the scale of what had happened Here.

ft^uiniw."*

1 asked hjrn how they'd kept track of artillery bursts on 6orazde.

At one pomt in the '94 offensive, U.N. Military Observers, w^o were trained to da sued things, reported impacts at a rate of eight per minute.

People jr»

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mi^j times

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M shells.

K. had to repair Ms raof -fo/e times.

THE ONLY

DIFFERENCE

BETWEEN THE

FRonT LINE AND

TOWN (S THAT Ot4

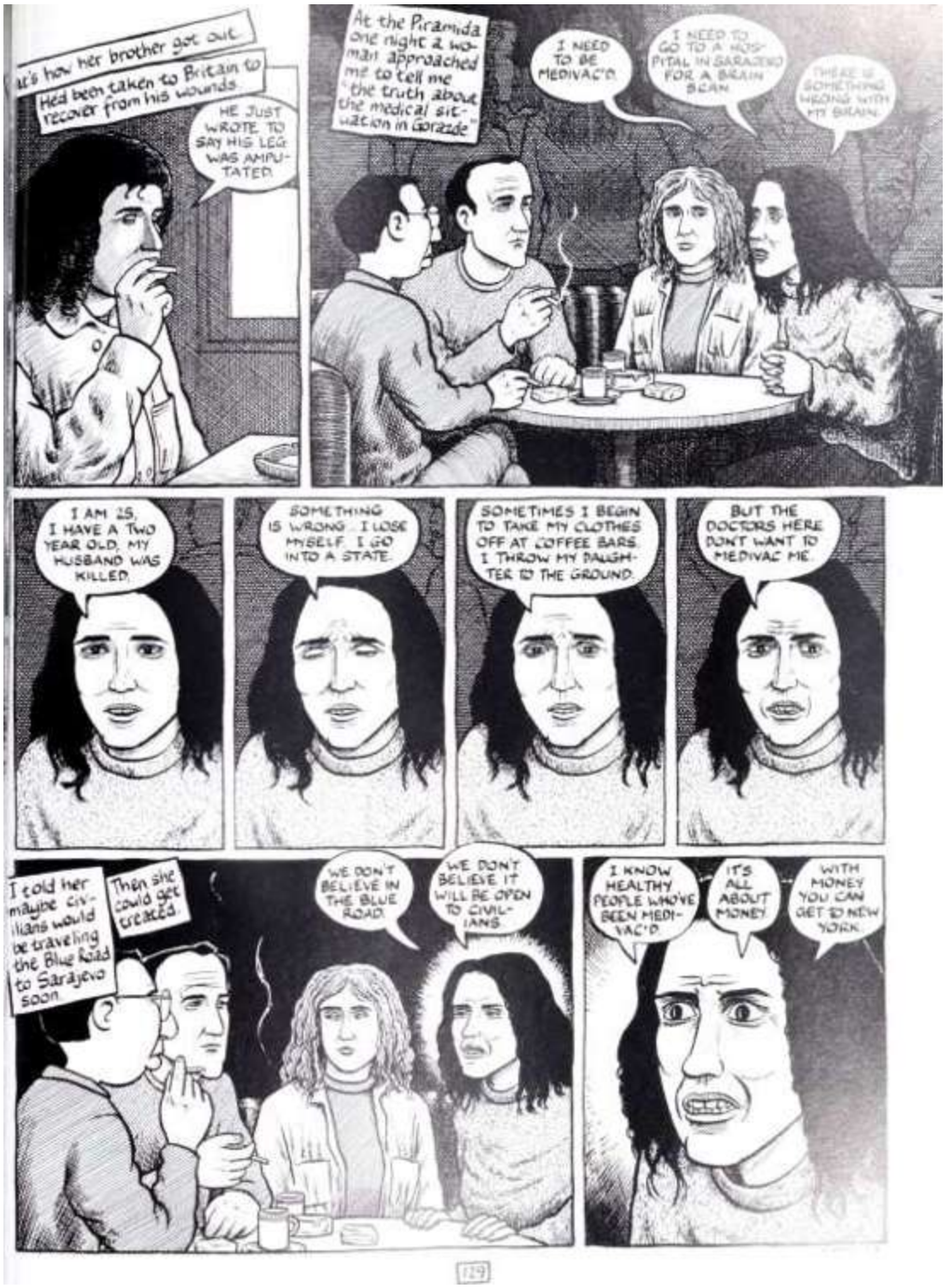
THE FRONT LIME

YOU HAVE

.WEAPONS.

People in Gorazde could tell you how many times their dwellings had been hit or damaged by shells.
Emira's home had been struck four times.
ONE TIME, THE HOUSE WAS HIT AND WE TOOK SOME FURNITURE TO OUR NEIGHBOR'S SO WE COULD BEGIN REPAIRS.
THE NEXT DAY OUR NEIGHBORS WAS HIT AND WE LOST MANY OF THE THINGS WE'D STORED THERE.
K. had to repair his roof five times.
THE ONLY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FRONT LINE AND TOWN IS THAT ON THE FRONT LINE YOU HAVE WEAPONS.
FOR ME THE FRONT LINE AND THE TOWN ARE THE SAME.
YOU CAN BE KILLED ANYWHERE.
Suada was 15 when I met her...
She was younger and very excited, she told me, when the war began and school was shut down.
But after she came across the bodies of her neighbors, blown to bits in the shelling, she barely left her home for months
During one of the cease-fires or shelling pauses, she said, she finally ventured out to see a friend in a neighborhood a short walk away.
"I didn't recognize the town," she said.
"Things were so badly destroyed that I began to call her name from the street until she came down to get me

I didn't know exactly where I was.
PART IV
I had an idea... a way of getting out.
AN OPHTHALMOLOGIST SAYS MY GRANDMOTHER'S EYE PROBLEMS ARE VERY SERIOUS.
Since the beginning of 1995, U.N. forces had intermittently evacuated scores of the worst wounded and other critical medical cases from Gorazde.
PERHAPS I CAN CONVINCE THE AUTHORITIES THAT MY GRANDMOTHER SHOULDN'T TRAVEL ALONE...
THAT I SHOULD GO WITH HER...
Medivac! That was the ticket!


It's how her brother got out.
He'd been taken to Britain to recover from his wounds.
HE JUST WROTE TO SAY HIS LEG WAS AMPUTATED.
At the Piramida one night a woman approached me to tell me the truth about the medical situation in Gorazde."
I NEED TO BE MEDIVAC'D.
I NEED TO GO TO A HOSPITAL IN SARAJEVO FOR A BRAIN SCAN.
THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH MY BRAIN.
I AM 25. I HAVE A TWO YEAR OLD. MY HUSBAND WAS KILLED.
SOMETHING IS WRONG. I LOSE MYSELF. I GO INTO A STATE.
SOMETIMES I BEGIN TO TAKE MY CLOTHES OFF AT COFFEE BARS. I THROW MY DAUGHTER TO THE GROUND.
BUT THE DOCTORS HERE DON'T WANT TO MEDIVAC ME.
I told her maybe civilians would be traveling the Blue Road to Sarajevo soon.
Then she could get treated.
WE DON'T BELIEVE IN THE BLUE ROAD.
WE DON'T BELIEVE IT WILL BE OPEN TO CIVILIANS.
I KNOW HEALTHY PEOPLE WHO'VE BEEN MEDIVAC'D.
IT'S ALL ABOUT MONEY.
WITH MONEY YOU CAN GET TO NEW YORK.
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PART 7

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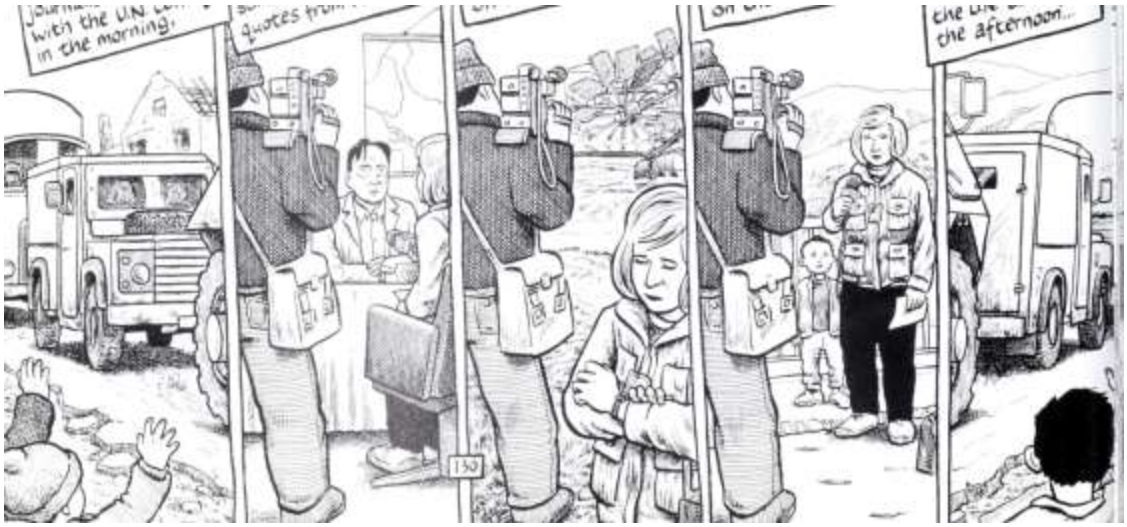

in the morning.
quotes from
the afternoon...
150

they needed new journalism now, for the op of the hour. and a few weren't above inducing some quickie action themselves
Angry townsfolk told stories of photographers throwing candy at kids to capture the predictable mad scramble.
Sure the children liked the new taste of sweets, and they weren't shy asking strangers for 'em.
MISTER, BON-BONS? MISTER, BON-BONS?
They'd take no for an answer though, and anyway, some of them had graduated to better things.
I was giving directions to a British photographer once when a boy approached us for a smoke
I DON'T KNOW IF IT'S A GOOD THING TO GIVE HIM A CIGARETTE.
HE'S TOO YOUNG.
HERE'S A BON-BON.
Poor kid, he didn't want no stinking bon-bon.

Every journalist had his or her own take on the matter of bon-bon distribution
My colleague who said bon-bons ought to go to the parents
that they should pass out the bon-bons
We discussed the subject for a good five minutes
(that's a long time to be talking about dispensing bon-bons)
Anyway, my bon-bon policy was to give them out to every kid asking so long as they all got one.
As to when and how they ought to eat their bon-bons, I couldn't care less.
I figured the children in garaje could make their own bon-bon decisions
132

White Death
WE MADE A MISTAKE. WE WERE LOOKING FOR CEMENT, LIME, CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS TO REPAIR THE
OTHERS WERE LOOKING FOR FOOD
"People found food in Serb
some, maybe 100 kg of cor
corn we could make flour
last when that's the main

WE w£R£ LOOKING FOR. CEMENT, LIME, CONSTRUCTION! MATERIALS TO REPAIR. THE HOUSE.

OTHERS WERE LOtfk-l IMfi FOli FOOD

AvA

People found food in Serb homes. I took some, maybe 100 kg of corn, and from that corn we could make flour But iOOky doesn't 'ast when that's the main thing you have.

Wmm

We ran out of flour in November

"We had planted potatoes before the wir; but you have to tend to potatoes, you have to diq around them two or three times, and after the war started, we didn't do anything in the yarden, we had escaped to Kopad When we returned, i duo up the potatoes and they were ^r^j smalr

My mother didnt bother to take off the skm. when she was pre-ma paring pet* K to pie.

BSSSBSS

'That year we had plenty of fruit, very nice fruit, J"We had milk and cheese from the a?w.. in ouryarden. We didn't have any say ar, but my mother heard how you could make jam without

suyar. by cooking overripe fruit for a lony time.

JO.

r^gfe^~B-STr„-_. y^_

We ate jelly over bread with some cows

"I gave two packets of cigarettes and got three sheep.

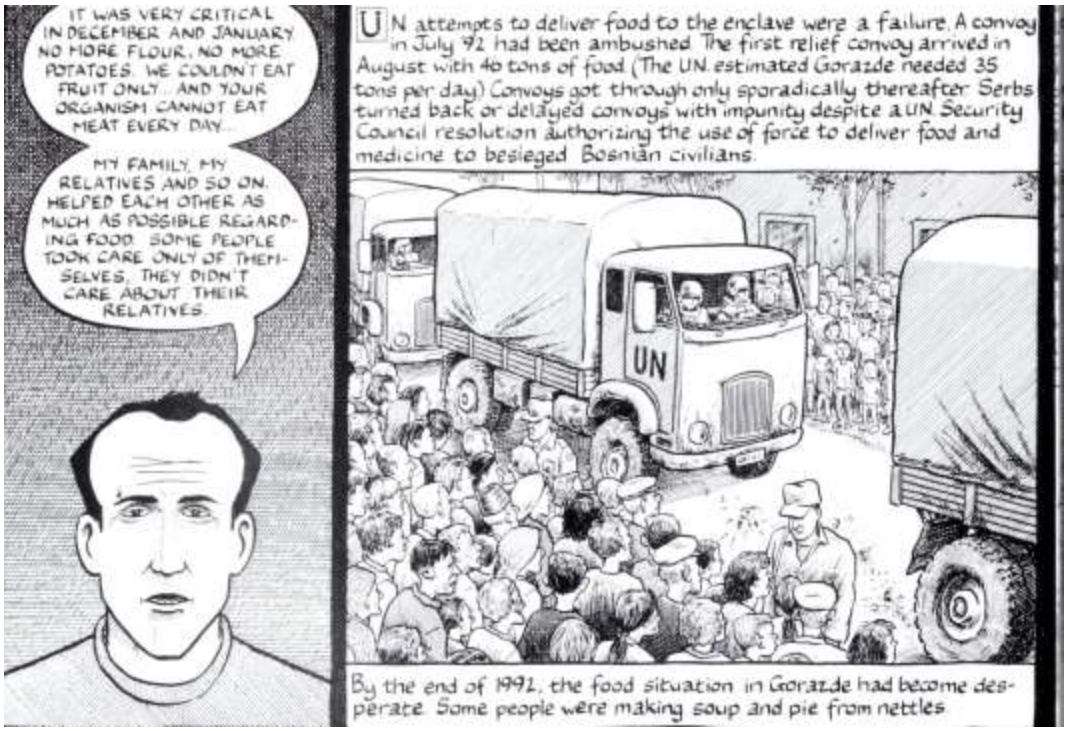
IT WAS VERY CRITICAL IN DECEMBER AND JANUARY NO MOPE FLOUR, NO MORE POTATOES. WE COULDN'T EAT fRulT ONLY. AND TOUR ORGANISM CANNOT EAT MEAT EVERV PAY

"Plenty of refugees were coming from villages, and they brought cows and sheep. They couldn't do anything with their sheep. We asked for the prices. 15 dm each. Before the war the price of a sheep was 150-200 dm. They were satisfied if you gave them flour or cigarettes.
"I gave two packets of cigarettes and got three sheep.
"We slaughtered two of the sheep and had meat until the end of January."

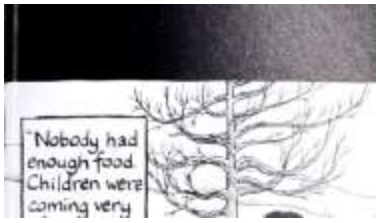
MY FAMILY MY RELATIVES AND SO ON. HELPED EACH OTHER AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE REGARDING fOOO. SOME PEOPLE TOOK CARE ONLY OF THEMSELVES, TH£y DIDN'T :are ABOUT THEIR RELATIVES.

WJ\ N attempts to deliver food to the enclave were a failure. A convoyl 1 —'in July '91 had been ambushed The first relief convoy arrived in August with 46 tons of food (The UW. estimated Gorazde needed 35 tons per day) Convoys got throuyh on\u spora.dicA\lu thereafter Serbs! turned baclc or

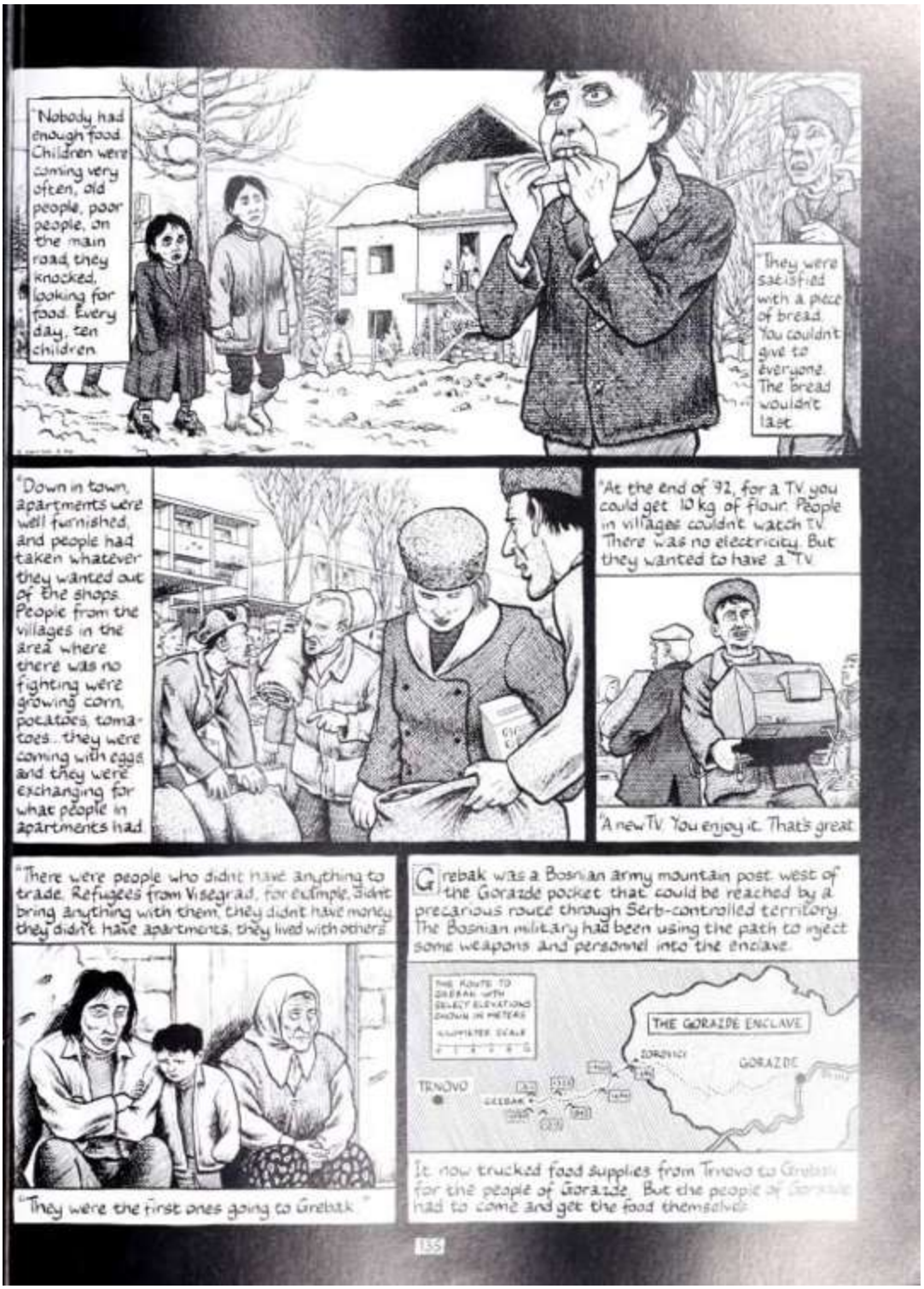
delayed convoys with impunity despite a U.M. Security Council resolution authorizing the use of-force to deliver food and medicine to besieged Bosnian civilians.


IT WAS VERY CRITICAL IN DECEMBER AND JANUARY NO MORE FLOUR, NO MORE POTATOES. WE COULDN'T EAT FRUIT ONLY... AND YOUR ORGANISM CANNOT EAT MEAT EVERY DAY...
MY FAMILY, MY RELATIVES AND SO ON, HELPED EACH OTHER AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE REGARDING FOOD. SOME PEOPLE TOOK CARE ONLY OF THEMSELVES. THEY DIDN'T CARE ABOUT THEIR RELATIVES.
UN attempts to deliver food to the enclave were a failure. A convoy in July '92 had been ambushed. The first relief convoy arrived in August with 40 tons of food. (The UN estimated Gorazde needed 35 tons per day) Convoys got through only sporadically thereafter. Serbs turned back or delayed convoys with impunity despite a UN Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force to deliver food and medicine to besieged Bosnian civilians.
UN
By the end of 1992, the food situation in Gorazde had become desperate. Some people were making soup and pie from nettles

By the end of 199Z, the food situation in uorazde had become desperate. Some people were making soup a.r\d pie from nettles.



"Nobody had enough food. Children were coming vera often, old people, poor people, on •the main road, they knocked, looking for food. Every day, ten f children.


"Nobody had enough food. Children were coming very often, old people, poor people, on the main road they knocked, looking for food. Every day, ten children.
"They were satisfied with a piece of bread. You couldn't give to everyone. The bread wouldn't last.
"Down in town, apartments were well furnished, and people had taken whatever they wanted out of the shops. People from the villages in the area where there was no fighting were growing corn, potatoes, tomatoes.. they were coming with eggs and they were exchanging for what people in apartments had
"At the end of '92, for a TV you could get 10 kg of flour. People in villages couldn't watch TV. There was no electricity. But they wanted to have a TV.
"A new TV. You enjoy it. That's great
"There were people who didn't have anything to trade. Refugees from Visegrad, for example. Didn't bring anything with them, they didn't have money, they didn't have apartments, they lived with others."
"They were the first ones going to Grebak."
Grebak was a Bosnian army mountain post west of the Gorazde pocket that could be reached by a precarious route through Serb-controlled territory. The Bosnian military had been using the path to inject some weapons and personnel into the enclave.
THE GORAZDE ENCLAVE
TRNOVO
GORAZDE
It now trucked food supplies from Trnovo to Grebak for the people of Gorazde. But the people of Gorazde had to come and get the food themselves.
135

Down in town, apartments were well furnished, and people had. taken whatever they wanted out of the shops. People from the villages in -the area where there was no fighting were growing corn, potatoes, tomatoes,, .they

were coding with eggs, and they were exchanging for what people in apartments had.

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the route to

SHEftAK WITH SELECT ELEVATIONS SHOWN IN METERS

KILOMETER SCALE

It now trucked food Supplies from Irnovo to Grreb: for the people o{ fiorazoe. But -die people o\ had to cotne and get the -food themselves.

we didn't have am*/

CHOICE.

PW FATHER. WENT THR£E TIMES TO £R.£6AK, rrt BROther and i two times each.

"That trip wis very dangerous It wasn't possible to use the path over the day, only at night. It was the middle o{ winter ...storms, snow... through the mountains... On one trip there was a Snowstorm and my -father fell unconscious. TVie son of a neighbor saved his life. He had frostbitten fingers and toes. On that trip.manu persons {raze to death."

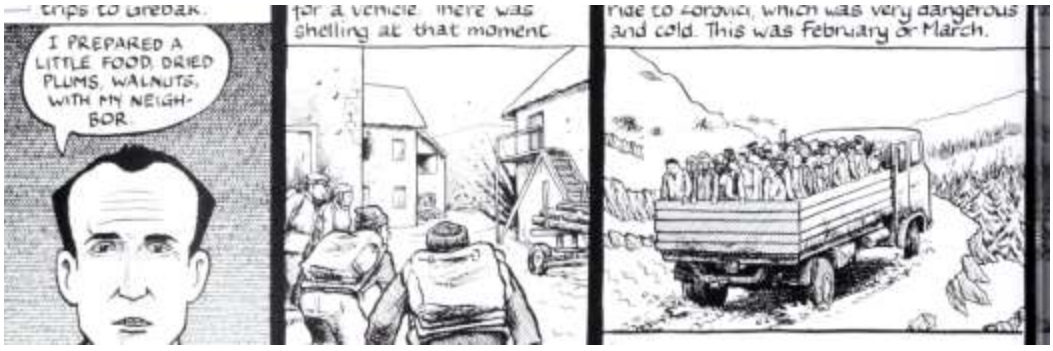
M cores died ^J of exposure -known to Gorazdans as I White Death —on the |6Vebak path. Others were killed bg landmines and in ambushes.

[fT 1 din described one of his trips to Grebak.

I PREPARED A LITTLE FOOD DRIED PLUMS, WALNUTS, WITH MS NElU»-gfcgy &OR.

.

"We went dounto^n to wait for a vehicle. There was Shelling at that moment


I PREPARED A LITTLE FOOD DRIED PLUMS, WALNUTS, WITH MY NEIGH-BOR.
for a vehicle. There was shelling at that moment.
and cold. This was February or March.

W 1 '

'T think I paid two kg of flour -^?r the ride to Zorovici, which was very dangerous and cold. This was February or March.

Once, on the same road, my brother was in a truck that slid out andturned over.. He wasn't badly injured, but three or-four died.

"It wasn't possible to ^o all the way to Zorovici because of the sno<^. We had to 0,0 two or three kilometers 'on -foot.

-^

"We wajted in Zorovici two or three hours for the evening, and when the whole group had gathered, about 200 people, we went.

In font of our q roup was a quide who knew "the way k was deep dark. If you stray, maybe three or pur meters, uoa can lose the group. And Tots of times we had to stand ^and wait -for everyone -to gather. And then, again, let's 30/'

'$%:>.

We stopped at -two or three springs to I ""There were streams and it was hard to jump them. A take water We were thirsty, -the whole Blot of people fell into the water; co/d water. Some people ■time walking. |were wefc, zon\p\e<e\$ wet.

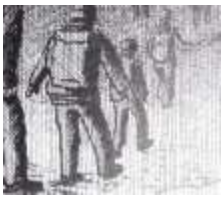
j£>

**

When we qot dose to urebak, a qroup going back to £orazde [passed us.nTieu, had loads, and they were ttred, very tired.

"1 cpt there about 4o'clock, \:iO in the morning

M



It wasn't possible to sleep any-£Jwhere... Maybe 1 slept -for half an hour, 15 minutes, an hour near a fire, without blankets. We waited for the distribution of food. We tried to keep warrrv.. Sitting around, eating, ! drinkinq something. All day in that way

It was better to bring five ky of -tobacco to Gorazde... because you could very easily ex-chanye it for •food .it could yet you maybe Too fa of other stuff:. There was a control of what you earned out They didn't allow someone to take a full rucksack of tobacco, Suyar coffee, but for some people withqood connections, with friends in the military, they closed weir eyes.

r-^ I Again we waited {nr the evenina hours

iM M We formed a lme and came back in tl same way

1

11 It was harder

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lUE

'Hie line didn't 9Uy-together

"Mu neuhDor K'l,. . i Ki3 be£n four 01 , ,

"^■v&. M f .fl ll W tt

I trusted him . If somethmq would happen to me. he would help

-jQJIL^

" We came across people who COuldnC ao on

Alone. Without anubodq

"They had -their t?u,es closed or were sleeping.

'We saw two or three people ike that.

■. ^ ■

I was "tired. I didn't know who Ithey were... I wasn't interested.

^..fi^^f^jBWWBIWI^* 1 ^. -

"My main thought was to stay alive,

"V

up

■

"to be Strong.

7om can't think about anything, I "how long the walk is, ' only about the way,

"will you see your family ayain? I "your friends? girlfriends?

mam

"We got to our territory ea.r\y, about three.

i'i^stwi

'We found a damaged old house Mm neighbor ■"In -the morning we left slept at once, but it was so c old I could n't [that village, and that was

H the hardest, walking "gam, about one hour, iree or {our kilometers.

•"^^o#L

\--*,

"After that we waited three or four hours {or the I T ^ Ff£ T R T> ^ T vehicles. They came with a. new group from town and I j^ 0 off \ picked up our group. thp.ee

DAYS.

"Aga«n we paid two kg of flour for the ride."

Tin earlu March W [1993, &\t situation m uorazde was still desperate. Onlu 12. u.M. relief convocjs had arrived since the beginning of the war Those who couldn't make the trip to Grebak or had no other source, of food had to survive on a ration that was sometimes less than one slice of bread per day.

I'D &ROUGHT FOOP fOP- MY FAMILY, POP.

four peopue, foe. lo-is

PAYS.

But

THAT'S ONLY IF WE ATE A LITTLE

|The Bosnian^jov-lernment induced I action bu refusing U.N. aid deliveries to media maanet Sarajevo unless ■food and medicine were brought through Serb blockades and into | Goraide and the other eastern en-claves as well. Oer the objections of the top UTn. miii-jtary commander in Bosnia, U.S. President Bill Clinton ordered airdrops on the enclaves

AT FIRST THg

civil flouce tried |

TO CONTROL TH6 AIRDROPS.

I U.S. aircraft,

[lyiruj Out of

ifermanu,, Ifirst dropped supplies on the Grorazde pocket, in the ear Id morning of March 9,

1993.

But they couldn't stop the people. They went around -the checkpoints.

L^

■<m&*

It went {rorn civilian to armu, conkro\

People {ought over the pallets. Soldiers fired in the air but people still went for it.

ft. |4ni

!iiiiil;m..;iii...-.i:i': l in.;::.Ni J

'The y gave up control lino

SOMETIMES WE WERE WAITING IN OME PLACE. BUT THEY PROPPED FAR AWAY.

"We chatted about where they rniaht drop, whether we'd found food |the day before, how often wed BeenHucku, "There were plenty of jokes

I'VE LOST ^ NEXT TJME" ▼SHE CAN MY WIFE- SHE'LL STAY PO ANY-HOME. _ r±mo. IN T>t£ PARK.

"Then t he aircraft would come. 1 "Sometimes we'd see lights in the sku. and the sound of the

| airplanes changed when they lost their weight"

M

I HEAR THEW I SAY PALLETS— l/'OKAY, LfTS

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That RUN N INLAND THE BE-IHAVIOROFTXE PEOPLE, r COULDN'T STANP /T

1 u

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I'M

NOTA

MAN ro

PUSH.

WHEN ft>0 FIND A PALLET, AT ONCE. 1O0 TAKE YOUR KNIFE, YOU CUT THE PLASTIC

'Inside iJiere are packs, cardboard I "Sometimes they dropped food boxes. Some periods there was only ■ near the front line, and if we were flour and beans. After 15 days, may-1 already -there... we'd carry food be rice... Sometimes cans Hhome over the night and then

I return to the line

mm

"One time thene was an armed group I that didn't allow anyone to get dose (to the food. Robbers... No one could 1 regulate that.

Js-^,,

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4a*«stW3be a !t'

THE BEHAVIOR OF THE IB PEOPLE WASN'T ACCEPTABLE, BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE AlRDP-OPS SAVED OS

mm

:-.-;■..

"Stronger people -found more -food and brought much more back than older or younger people. At the most, I'd take 50 kg 1 waited a lot of times. Maybe 2>0 times. I brought back food maybe ZO times. I was ^sr^ lucky, almost the luckiest main in town But I was ready, you know, in good condition, young,a good runner "

•.':'■:',

IT WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT THIN<£ AT THAT MOMENT, THE MOST —

FOOt>

rplhe airdrops LLJ staved off star-

I vation, but tiie eastern Bosnian enclaves now faced a military catastrophe. In April 1993, northeast of Gorazde, attacking Serb forces were sec to overrun the

I Srebrenica enclave Seeking to prevent a new refugee crisis — or worse - especially while the doomed Vance -Owen peace plan was still on the table,-the UN.

I Security Council declared Srebre-

I nica a "safe area."

JplHACB

SOSNiA

THE SIX SAFE AREAS

MID 1993

□ Bosnian government-controued territory

ek83 rebel serb- or

ts^a R£6EL OZOKT-CON-ES3£3 TROl-LEP TERRITORY

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In early May the U.M. ex-I tended safe area status I to other Bosnian enclaves, including 6rorazde But the UM. had yet to work out what the concept meant. On the one hand, the U.isJ. was obligating itself, presumably, to keep the safe areas safe; on the other the safe areas implicitly formalized Serb yams and the concentration of Muslims into what President Clinton 'warned would become shooting galleries."(which | didn't stop the U.S. from [supporting the plan.)

Not waiting for further clarification, the Serbs launched an offensive that \ conquered al I government territory ir\ the Drina valley from Mededa to Ustipraca. Refugees streamed into Gorazde while the Serbs began a relentless bombardment of the town.

Meanwhile, a surrender of sorts had been worked out whereby the Serbs would keep their positions around Srebrenica and a small U.KI. force would be inserted to "demilitarize "the town's defenders

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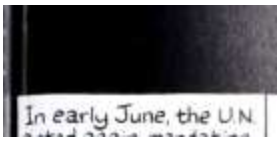

In early June, the U.N, acted again, mandating that UN. -forces "deter attacks on the safe areas,"but only, it seemed, if U.N.fbrces themselves c&me under attack. In GoraTde's case, the point was moot; no UN troops were stationed there. True, the Security Council also called -for-further troop deployments to the safe areas but member states balked at the number of extra troops --originally 34,ooo-the UN. deemed necessary •to protect the safe areas.

Sic

% ^

A total of eight U.N.military personnel—observers —eventually got to Gor-azde after being blocked by -£he Serbs for weeks.

tmmmmmm*

Ihe attack on Gorazde continued from multiple direcbions and carried on into July. Hundreds were killed in the shelling.

Ihe attack paused. Meanwhile, further west, Irnov/o fell to the Serbs and the base at Grebak was lost.

jl'*»*

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Sadako Ogato, U.N High Commissioner for Refugees, proposed that GoraiAz and the I 3^^^^^

other eastern safe areas, Srebrenica and B^^teT'^i^f^^L^ Zepa, be evacuated of civilians. That was ml£&£%^^*M

the "only life-savinq alternative," she said

HM

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The mountain path that connected Gbrazde Vlr 'V // rt ^y to central ^^^^Bosnia, however tenuosly, r* was severed & Gorazde wasr" completely f .^ cue off.

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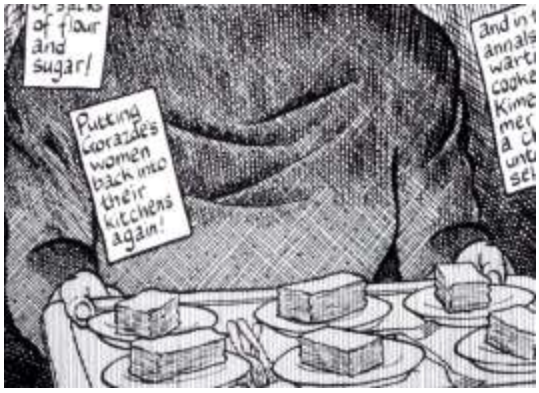

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smss m' v, '» '-V.J

fTonyhtwg

] were over

J*pd Sabin&A

WOme since j^ScJpina \vOm C&nice Vm May '92. jibe -first jhouse their {family ha.4 wJfyattedhadl f I oien burned i • j&wnbythel I Serbs in th e \'% offknsive\ I mis place Jufls onL

SOME
REMEMBER
TO FORGET..
Sabina and Dalila jumped up!
They started MTVing Riki!
They were dancing and clowning as usual!
Sabina clowning the most!
AIR VIDEO CAMERA
AIR MICRO PHONE
And where was poet-boyfriend Dude?
(Her "main task" was to take care of him, she'd once told me.)
Well, tonight Mister "Main Task" was at the front...
taking care of her.
Woo!
Sabina was 18.

WE W£R£

Slouch/ng.

One co^w

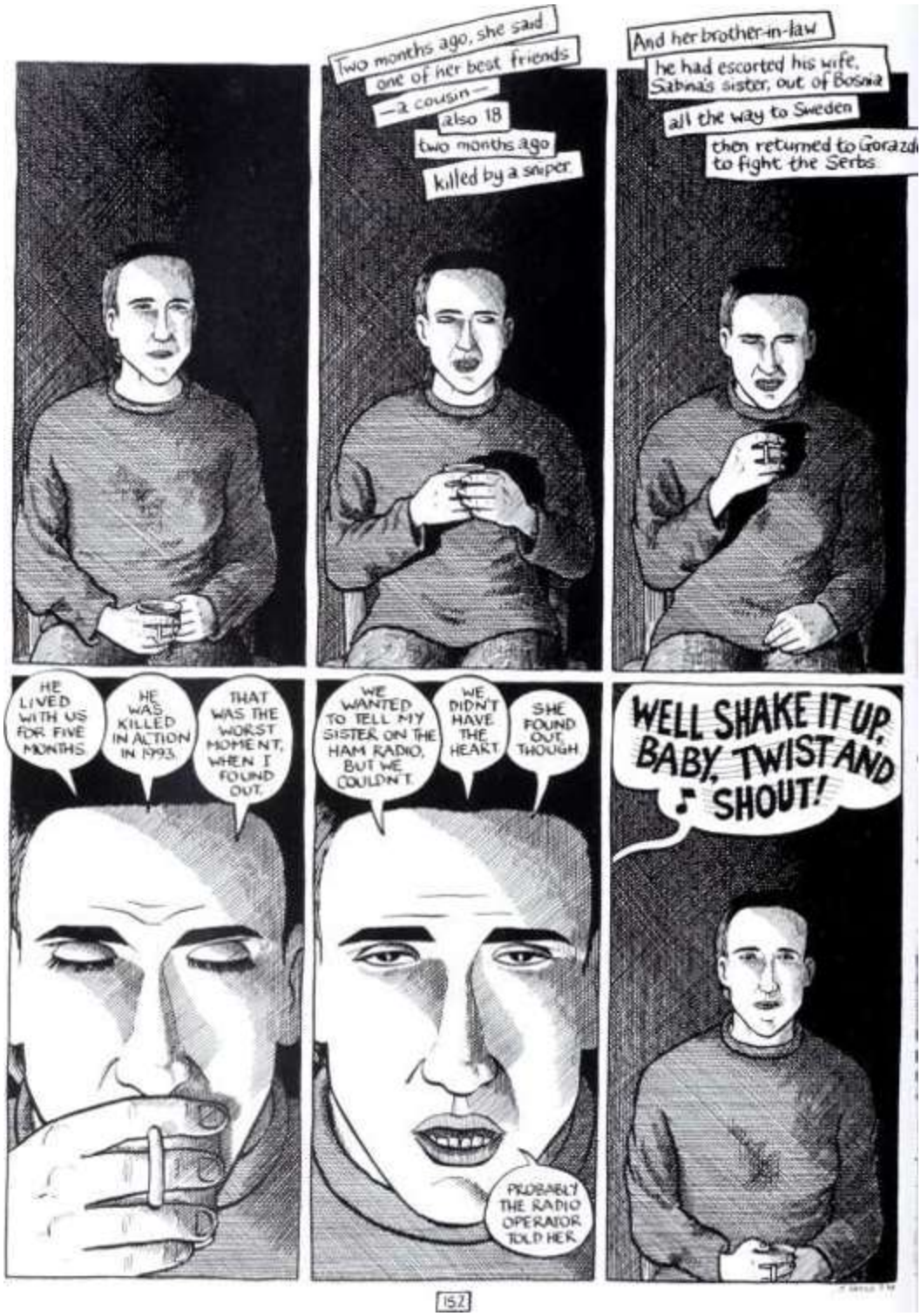
I; had rig obligations,! ,1 ucxi undO"-

3 stand, and, let me add

wasnt 95- H t^9 pa-' d #> sample Ki^eta's desserts or

Uste* *° &Wi sing, either.

^ ;


Two months ago, she said
one of her best friends
—a cousin—
also 18
two months ago
killed by a sniper.
And her brother-in-law
he had escorted his wife,
Sabina's sister, out of Bosnia
all the way to Sweden
then returned to Gorazde
to fight the Serbs
HE LIVED WITH US FOR FIVE MONTHS.
HE WAS KILLED IN ACTION IN 1993.
THAT WAS THE WORST MOMENT, WHEN I FOUND OUT.
WE WANTED TO TELL MY SISTER ON THE HAM RADIO, BUT WE COULDN'T.
WE DIDN'T HAVE THE HEART.
SHE FOUND OUT, THOUGH.
PROBABLY THE RADIO OPERATOR TOLD HER.
WELL SHAKE IT UP, BABY, TWIST AND SHOUT!
152

fez*

i*^3B

po YOU WAVE 1

A GRUDGE A&AinST THE SERBS? DID YOU HAVE SERB FRiENOS BEfOKE THE WAR?

I HAD A LOT OF

SERB FRIENDS

■*£? ■

m ^S

V'^a

HlLA AND pRAGTicA ... THEY WERE CLOSER TO ME THAN SOME MUSLIMS I DIDN'T PAY ANY ATTENTION TO WHETHER SOMEONE WAS SERB OR. MUSLIM. EVERYBODY WAS THE SAME.

"I

cw »$#t

curious, i

agfir

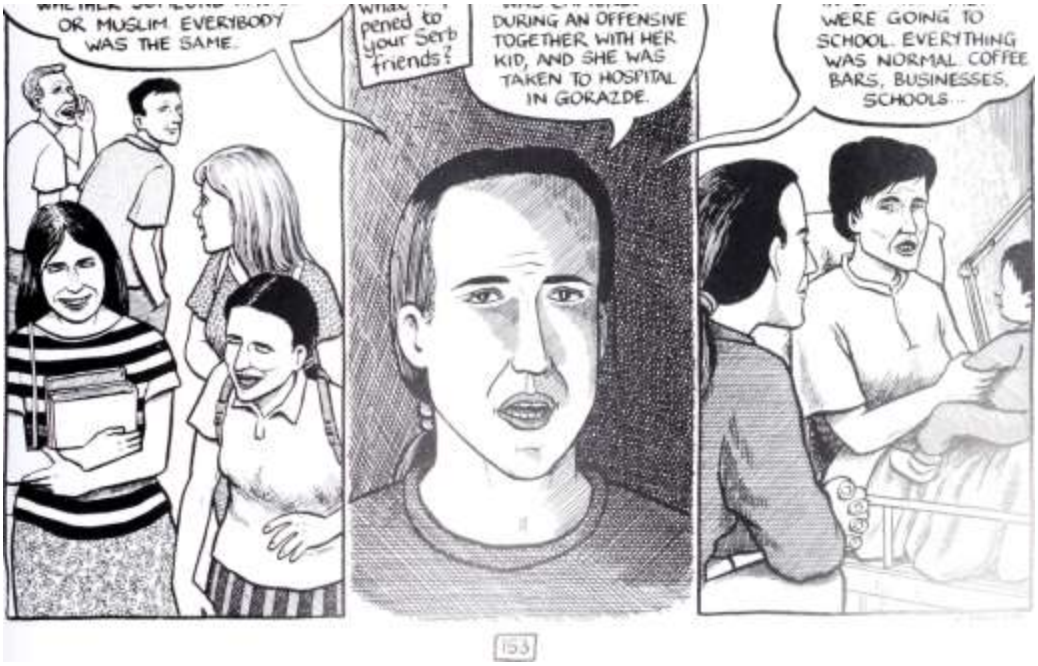
s Vriends ?

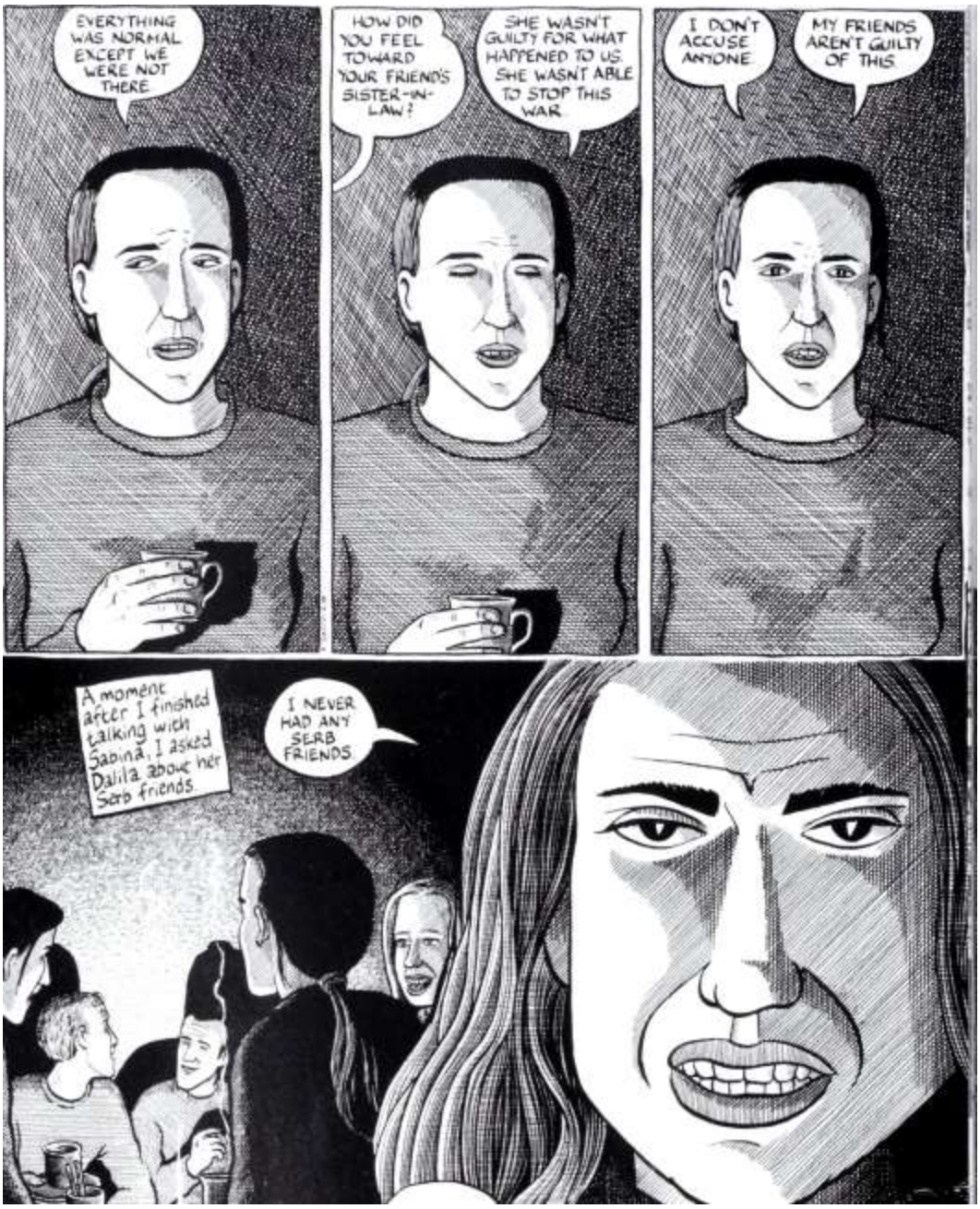
"YES, OF COURSE. I MENTIONED MlLA HER SISTER-IN-LAW

WAS CAPTURED DURING AN OFFENSIVE TOGETHER. WITH HER KID ; AND SHE WAS

TAKEN TO HOSPITAL IN GORAZDE.

SHE TOLD ME ABOUT MlLA, ABOUT MY FRIENDS. MlLA IS STILL IN CAJNICE. THEY WERE GOING TO SCHOOL. EVERYTHING WAS NORMAL. COfFEE BARS, BUSINESSES, SCHOOLS

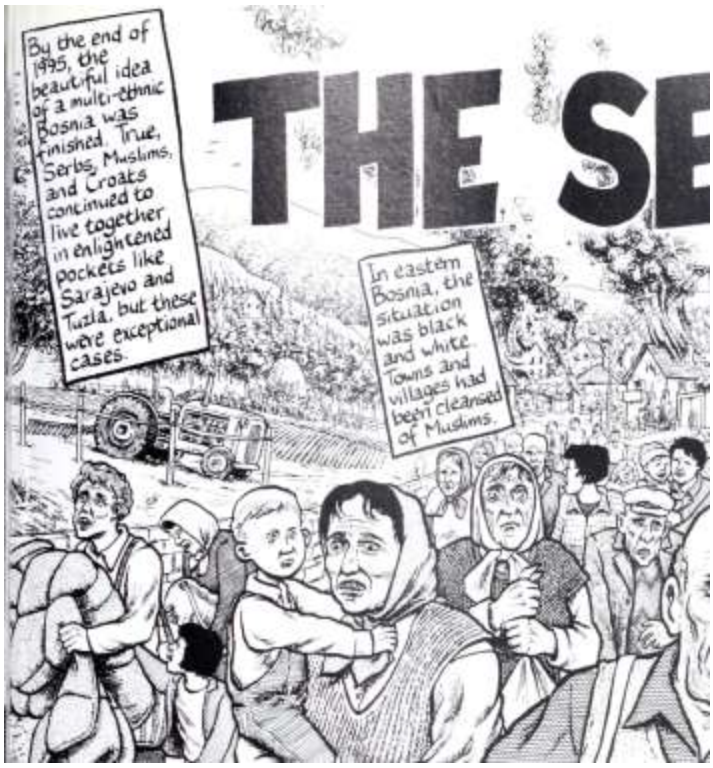

OR MUSLIM EVERYBODY WAS THE SAME.
pened to your Serb friends?
DURING AN OFFENSIVE TOGETHER WITH HER KID, AND SHE WAS TAKEN TO HOSPITAL IN GORAZDE.
WERE GOING TO SCHOOL. EVERYTHING WAS NORMAL. COFFEE BARS, BUSINESSES, SCHOOLS...
153


EVERYTHING WAS NORMAL EXCEPT WE WERE NOT THERE
HOW DID YOU FEEL TOWARD YOUR FRIEND'S SISTER-IN-LAW?
SHE WASN'T GUILTY FOR WHAT HAPPENED TO US. SHE WASN'T ABLE TO STOP THIS WAR.
I DON'T ACCUSE ANYONE.
MY FRIENDS AREN'T GUILTY OF THIS.
A moment after I finished talking with Sabina, I asked Dalila about her Serb friends.
I NEVER HAD ANY SERB FRIENDS.

HOW COULD TH£V HAVE BEEN VOUR FRIENDS IF THEN THE7

mi ED TO KILL YOU?

^e end of


By the end of 1995, the beautiful idea of a multi-ethnic Bosnia was finished. True, Serbs, Muslims, and Croats continued to live together in enlightened pockets like Sarajevo and Tuzla, but these were exceptional cases.
THE SE
In eastern Bosnia, the situation was black and white. Towns and villages had been cleansed of Muslims.

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I DIDNT

behave like a nationalist. i wa5 always a yuoo Slav and now I'm a Bosnian man. i hap strain ed relations with other serbs because of

Urt VIEWS-

.::: :

Jserbs who

AUL

TROUBLES ARE

'fROM THE CHETNIKS..

I'VE FELT MORE

TERROR FROM THAT

SIDE - BEFORE THE

W AA AND DURING

THE WAR AS

WELL.

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J 6o t/fnes.

/The sniping

topped onlu l after the I Serbs re-

I treated anj] Could no I /oujer sa?

rod Two

NIGHTS THE*/ CALLED 10 ME WITH A MEGAPHONE FROM

ACROSS THE ORiNA.

they

CALLED ME BV NAME.

THEY SAID I WOULD S. M

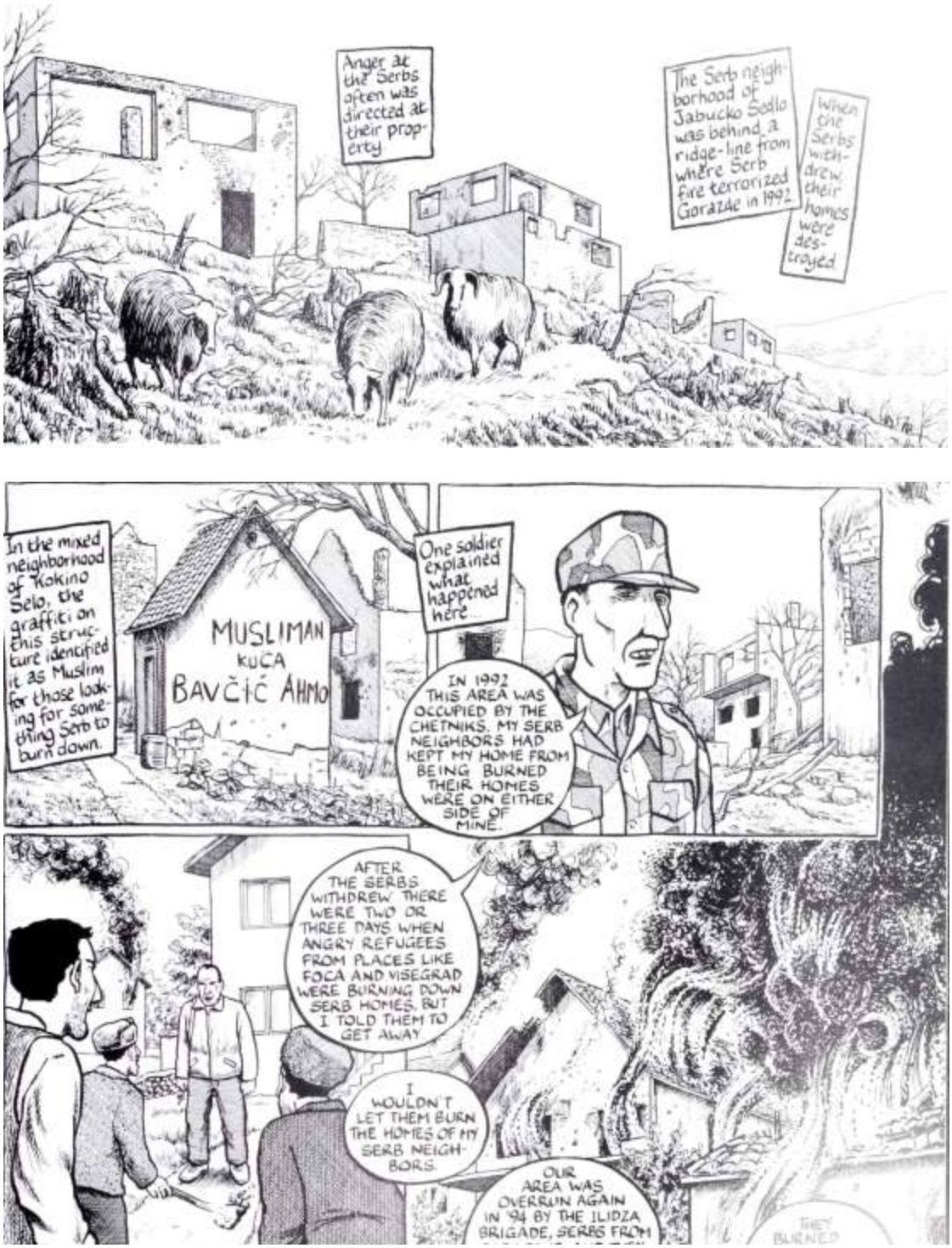
PAY

HW MUST BE READ// WE WILL BE COMING

SOON/

WE WERE SURE WE'D BE KILLED IF THE CHET-NIKS TOOK .THIS TOWN.

could no longer see his building.
YOU MUST BE READY! WE WILL BE COMING SOON!
WE WERE SURE WE'D BE KILLED IF THE CHETNIKS TOOK THIS TOWN.
He said local authorities had behaved properly to him and the Serbs that stayed. Serbs had received the same humanitarian aid as Muslims
The chief problem, he said, was refugees.
THEY WERE PEOPLE WITHOUT ANYTHING, WITH MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES SLAUGHTERED... BUT OUR MUSLIM NEIGHBORS DIDN'T ALLOW THE REFUGEES TO DO ANYTHING TO US
All his Serb neighbors were forced from their homes, however.
REFUGEES TOLD THEM TO GET OUT
150


Anger at the Serbs often was directed at their property
The Serb neighborhood of Jabucko Sedlo was behind a ridge-line from where Serb fire terrorized Goražde in 1992
When the Serbs withdrew their homes were destroyed
In the mixed neighborhood of Trokino Selo, the graffiti on this structure identified it as Muslim for those looking for something Serb to burn down.
MUSLIMAN
KUĆA
BAVČIĆ AHMO
One soldier explained what happened here.
IN 1992 THIS AREA WAS OCCUPIED BY THE CHETNIKS. MY SERB NEIGHBORS HAD KEPT MY HOME FROM BEING BURNED THEIR HOMES WERE ON EITHER SIDE OF MINE.
AFTER THE SERBS WITHDREW THERE WERE TWO OR THREE DAYS WHEN ANGRY REFUGEES FROM PLACES LIKE FOCA AND VISEGRAD WERE BURNING DOWN SERB HOMES. BUT I TOLD THEM TO GET AWAY
I WOULDN'T LET THEM BURN THE HOMES OF MY SERB NEIGHBORS.
OUR AREA WAS OVERRUN AGAIN IN '94 BY THE ILIDZA BRIGADE, SERBS FROM
THEY BURNED

wouldn ' t VmyfM^'

LET THEM BURH \ jff ffflfJ* Ci»"tf'] HflTHE HOMES OF MY Jf &i ;'\W" ' M

JBiilL ££ * B neigh-

<' \ UK. BORS. v_i— -^- o uK .

AREA WAS $>[& , / OVERRUN AGAIN T&ril-J IN '94 6V THE 1LIDZA ' V >Mf BRIGADE, SERBS FROM £sS| SARAJEVO, AND THEY

s&Sl Didn't know which

HOMES BELONGED TO MUSLIMS OR

SERBS.

THEY ^

Bug „ DOWN E\

MiTHim

■ ■

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SOME

SERBS WERE M^ft-PEREP AnP HARASSEP, ESPECIALLY PUR.IMG THE '94 OFFENSIVE-

WE SERBS FROM TOWN PROBABLY 'WONT TALK ABOUT IT WHO CAN THEY TRUSTS THEV PONT KNOW WWAT5 GOING TO

PuRlNG

r THE '94 OFfEN-

'SIVE, ABOUT 100

?£OPUE. WERE

KILLEP IN

u\PRAZPE.

HAPPEN NEXT.

I'D GO

CRAZY EVERY

TIME I SAWAPEAP

CHI LP, ANP AT THAT

MOMENT I DIPN'T

CARE ABOUT A

MORPErREP

SERB.

mm

mm

ipus

LEFT HAP BEEN SEP-ARATEP FROM THEIR FAMILIES-•• OR HAP LOST THEIR. FLATS... ABOUT ISO , SERBS WERE PUSHED PROM THEIR HOMES BY REFUGEES IN T^e '94- ATTACK, AMP MOST WERE EX" CHANOEP FOR MEPIVAC

I'M,.

SURE MAN7 WOULD NOT HAVE GONE F THE*/ HAP, FOOP

IF

THERE WAS NO SHELLING

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Will

ill

THEY DIPN' TO LIVE THESE

DlTIONS.

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I WOUlP HAVE

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S

CAN YOU LIVE WITH

TOO MUCH HAS HAPPENED, TOO MANY FAMILY MEM BERS KILLED I USED TO HAVE MANY SERB FRIENDS... I HAP A CLOSE FRIEND NAMED MIRO, AND IT'S POSSIBLE HE WAS A SNIPER. SHOOTING AT MY DAUGHTER THAT HE WAS ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO RAPED AND SLAUGHTERED

L CAN NEVER TRUST THOSE SERBS AGAIN THAT'S OBVIOUS, AND NOT ONLY THAT, MY RELATIONSHIP WITH SERBS WHO REMAINED IN GORAZDE HAS CHANGED, TOO...

THINGS

CAN NEVER BE

THE SAME.

**>

;"

I UNDERSTAND SERBS LIVED WITH US DURING THE WAR, ESPECIALLY IN SARAJEVO,

Birr I'M suspicious of

THEM. I CAN'T HELP IT I DONT HAVE THE SAME FEELINGS FOR THEM I HAP BEFORE . THEY CAN VISIT ME IF THEY WANT, BUT 1 CAN'T FEEL COMFORTABLE WITH THEM AGAIN.

I DONT WANT TO

hear anything about them. i think my former serb friends are dead, metaphorically. we had a good past this war has lasted almost -tour years

and many things have changed.. of course bosnia can only be a single state with serbs and croats, but 1 would like to

LIVE WITHOUT THEM..

MY ROOMMATE IN THE DORMITORY IN Z-ENICA WAS A SERB, A GOOD GUY. HE WENT TO BELGRADE, HE DIDN'T WANT TO FIGHT FOR KARADZIC I COULD LIVE WITH SOMEONE LIRE HIM, BUT HE LEFT IN SARAJEVO, IT'S OKAY TO LIVE TOGETHER WITH SERBS, BUT IN EASTERN BOSNIA IT5 IMPOSSIBLE. WE ARE UNABLE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN NORMAL SERBS AND THE KILLERS.

THE SERBS CAN'T BE TRUSTED. THEY LIE. THE ONLY REASON SOME SERBS REMAINED IN GORAZDE WAS BECAUSE THEY WERE AFRAID OF LOSING THEIR HOMES.

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H-M

I CAN LIVE WITH THE SERBS AGAIN, BUT NOT THOSE GUILTY OF CRIMES. I'M QUITE AWARE OF THE LOYAL SERBS LIVING IN SARAJEVO...

I CAN'T

UNDERSTAND IT

ABOUT 90 PERCENT

OF MY FRIENDS WERE

SERBS. OLDER PEOPLE

SAID THAT SERBS

HATED MUSLIMS, BUT

WE DIDN'T BELIEVE

THEM.

Ld^">

THE SERBS AGAIN

BEFORE THE WAR, EVERYONE HAP EVERYTHING/ CARS, fOOD, JOBS THEY HAP A GOOP LIFE ... ANp "WEN THEY STARTEP SHOOTING- NEVER IN MY LIFE WILL 1 UNPERSTAND WHY THEV DESTROYED OUR LIVES, THE SERBS, BUT ALSO THEY PESTROYEP THEIR OWN LIVES.

BUT MOST IMPORTANT TO ME IS THAT EVERY SERB IS NOT A CHETNIK. THE SERBS WHO STAYED GOT THE SAME FOOP, THEY CARRIED WATER AND GOT WOOP... THEY WERE IN THE SAME ■%, y SITU ATI OM

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OUR NEIGHBORS... WE THOUGHT WE COULD TRUST THEM. BECAUSE OF THAT WE HAVE A TRAGI C STORY I DON'T WANT TO LIVE WITH THE SERBS BECAUSE I LOST MY DAUGHTER... SERB NEIGHBORS CAN L/VE HERE AGAIN, BUT 1 PONT WANT TO HAYE CONTACT WITH THEM- I DON'T WANT TO CHAT WITH THEM

WE DlDNT po THE SAME THING TO THEIR CHILDREN, THEIR DAUGHTERS, THEIR WIVES. IN '92 AND '93 SERBS LIVED AROUND HERE, BUT WE PION'T TOUCH THEM THEY ATE UKE ME, THE SAME FOOP. THEY HAP THE SAME CONDITIONS. I CHO? PED WOOP FOR A SERB HERE, A 70-YEAR-OLD MAN.

1 BELIEVE IN A MULTIETHNIC BOSNIA. NOT ALL SERB SOLDIERS ARE WAR CRIMINALS. MAYBE A SMALL PERCENTAGE ARE BAP, THOSE WHO PIP THE SLAUGHTERING ANP THOSE WHO FIRED ARTILLERY IHTO CIVILIAN AREAS...

THEIR PROBLEM IS THEY'RE ALWAYS TALKING ABOUT THEiR HISTORY. THEY'RE ALWAYS LOOKING AT THE PAST, NEVER THEIR FUTURE.

4

1 had a serb frienp in foca i woulpn't minp speaking to again, just to get his sipe of things, but generally i pont want to see the people who've pone this for another 20 0r4o

years. they shatterep my life anp i can't put the pieces together again -

Jfe"

it, 4 4fc*

■-&

IN 1993

I WAS OM JA&UKA TVICIJAK.' STRATEGICALLY AN IMPORTANT MOUNTAIN f0R DEFENDING THE TOWN.

MV DUTY X&.'S^J

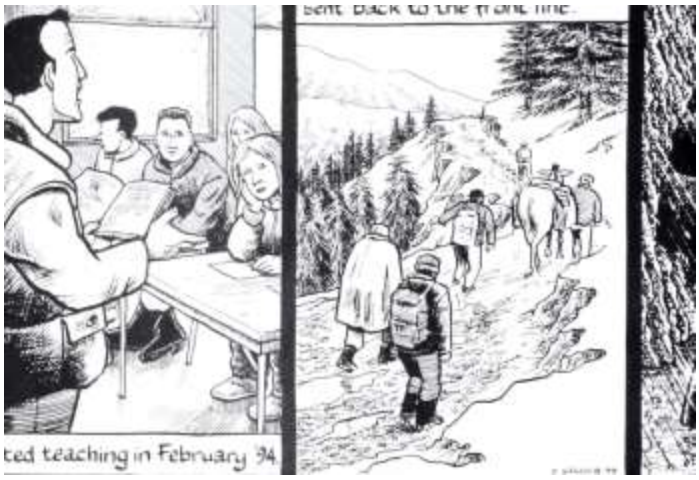
was four. mXS*2V PAYS THERE, EIGHT DAYS .AT HOME.

"The director of schools didn't have enough teachers of mathe matics. For all the secondary schools there were onlu two. Th

schools there were onlu two. T> looked -for people. And finally they asked me.

e V

Id worked -for about one and a half months when the Serbs started to attack our positions. We thought it wasn't sehousjust the usual After about a week, the director decided to close the schools, and all teachers were sent back to the front line.



J was back in -the same place. It was awful...

m

"1 started teachino in February '94Wg0B^

"The Serbs attacked us every day, first with shelliny .

*■• <\ ;

after with patrols to check if we were still in our positions.

Tt was 3 or 4 o'clock, Aphl9. They'd shelled us a couple of times that day. I noticed Serbs in the valley.

" Mu friend went to bring it. I kept watch. I watched far five minutes. My friend hadn't come with the rifle yet.

"The Serbs attacked us every day, first with shelling...
"after with patrols to check if we were still in our positions.
"It was 3 or 4 o'clock, April 9. They'd shelled us a couple of times that day. I noticed Serbs in the valley.
DO YOU KNOW WHERE THE SNIPER RIFLE IS?
"My friend went to bring it. I kept watch. I watched far five minutes. My friend hadn't come with the rifle yet.
HAS THE BULLET GONE THROUGH MY EYE?
I DON'T KNOW. THERE'S TOO MUCH BLOOD.
"I lost consciousness. The guy with me bandaged me well. Maybe he saved my life.
"They took 30 to 40 minutes to carry me to the car.
"My cousin was the driver on duty and he drove fast. I heard the sound of tires taking curves and I regained consciousness.
DON'T DRIVE SO FAST!
WE'LL ALL BE KILLED!
"Then I lost consciousness again.
"I don't know what happened... I heard the screaming of a nurse, a close friend.
DOCTOR, YOU DIDN'T CONNECT HIS ARTERIES PROPERLY!
YES! CHECK AGAIN.
"I was becoming conscious. I had pain. I didn't get any injection... there was no anesthetic.
165

"Mm cousin was the driver on duty and he drove fast I heard the sound of tires taking curves a.nd I regained consciousness.

"I was becominy conscious... i had j I didnt oet ana injection...tl no anesthetic.

My-face was completely swollen. 1 had Ian ache in my head and a sound like an unlimited number of bees. Zzzzz-zzzz.

, YOU SHOULD f BRING ME- A [COUPLE. 60TTLES t OF BRANDY FOR. SAVING voufc LIFE.

^>

iw^^^vfeffi

He said I was goiny to be fine, but he Iwasn't sure about my eyesight.

' 1 spent one day ^"^ niaht in hospital. It was full, crowded... Wounded, from every part of the front... A lot of persons were much more neavilu, wounded than me, much heavier." r

jv

':>r^

T, n Febn 1994, the

uary

U.N. had threatened air-strikes on Serb tanks and artillery units bombarding Sarajevo The Serbs suspended those attacks, switched many of their heavy; weapons to the \GorZ2de. front, and launched a major offensive against the erTcJave.

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US Secretary of Defense William Perry ruled out U.S. intervention to prevent the fall of &orazde.

WE. WILL NOT ENTER THE WAR TO STOP THAT FROM HAPPENING-.

President Clinton, frustrated that the offensive was endanyer-[ing a U.S.-Kussian peace initia-Itive, told the combatants to—

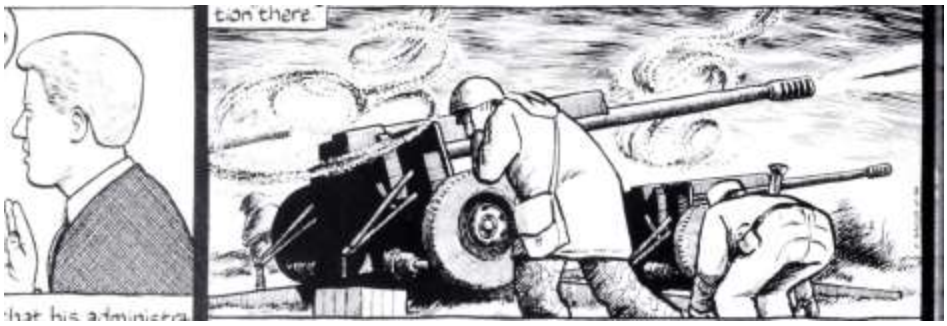
-NEGOTIATE A PEACE AND | GET IT OVER WITH.

He denied that his administra I toon's utterances had given ■ "^reen light."

But the next day, Joint Chiefs-of-Staff Chairman General John Shall- . kashvili publdy doubted that air-strikes, threatened aoainst the Serbs

to protect Sarajevo, would be effective in Ltorazde's case because, he

, heavy weap ons wer e not "the p rincipal cause o f death and destruc-there.
6F ^t^ ^^^^Ife^*^^^^ ^^^SB



However, one U.NI. doctor on the scent protested that "all the bodies I saw had been killed by artillery fire."

Meanwhile, Lt. General Sir Michael Rose, the U.N.'s military commander in Bosnia, feared that air-strikes on the Serbs would compromise the U.N.'s neutral peace-keeping role. He continually downplayed the Serb offensive, calling it a "tactical operation" and claiming the Serbs had not advanced far into the enclave.
The attack on Gorazde was clearly intensifying. The U.N. was facing the embarrassing and grim prospect of one of its designated safe areas being overrun. The U.S. administration changed tack. The U.S. had not ruled out air power to stop the attack, said National Security Adviser Anthony Lake.
SERB OFFENSIVE ON GORAZDE, SPRING 1994
UNTIPRACA
GORAZDE
ZEPCICI
CAJNICE
SERBIA
On April 9 the Serbs captured the Gradina mountaintop above the east bank of Gorazde and now had direct line-of-sight into the town.
I CAME H
THERE...BU
ALWAY
TURB

j Meanwhile, L-t. £en-'■'■ eral Sir Michael „ Rose, the UM.'s mil-r* itaru commander in ^Bosnia, feared that air-strikes on the Serbs would compromise the U.N.'s neutral peacekeeping role. He continual la downplayed the Serb offensive, callm it a "tactical operation" and claim the Serbs had .. advanced far into the enclave

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Hie attack on Gorazde was clearly intensifying. The UN. was facing the embarrassing and grim prospect a^ one of its designated safe areas being overrun. The U.S. administra-tion changed tack. The U.S. had apt ruled out air power to stop the attack, said Na&onal Security Adviser Anthony Lake

3ut his own military observers m Grorazde reported, "The death toll continues to rise and serious losses of territory are occurring...It is very disquieting to hear radio reports from trie international media reiterate that| the situation is not senous ...It is a grave situation.'

On April 9 the Serbs captured the Grradinamountaintop above the east bank of froraide and now had direct tine-of-sight into the town.

1 CAME HOME-, I LAV THEM.--BUT THERE WAS ALWAVS A DISTURBANCE...

I Refugees, friends came here...They were always askingB"I went to hospital to change my bandages Ithe same auestions... women ...stupid... always with the Btwice a day...every day far injections. Among

|wrJng information... f ^ < «M|HBp^«HHthe patients there was panic. Always women, ■■■■■■^■HuJ^ ^ UmJ w^Thcv 'n^% ■children, elder persons panicked But the

i *vrJi jKS

%£ S£ TO Tf l L HOSPITAL'

persons parn [doctors didtheir jobs."

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(vT7| ith vJOrds Out of LilJ Washington now J implying firm backing, the ufl! demanded the offensive stop land warned the Serbs lof air-strikes by NATO, 1 which was acting as the U.N.'s air arm. "Technically, a continued attack on the enclave would be considered an attack on the handful of UN/, personnel there — which would invoke the previous year's Security Council resolution authorizing 'the use of force" to protect them.

line attack Ju didn't Stop. l||f°

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THIS IS A CLEAR

EXPRESSION 0F THE

WILL Of NATO AND

THE WILL OF The

UNITED NATIONS.

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On April 10and 11 NATO carried out its first bombinq raids ever, dropping Six bombs on Serb positions and vehicles near fiorazde.

\SI I'll M

I Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic told the U.M.:

THE GOOD

'MANNERS WHICH

WE DISPLAYED

OUT OF OUR TRUST FOR YOU ARE NOW A THINS Of THE PAST

i ■ -"""'** i

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"The Bosnian Serb military commander, General Ratko Mlad.c, cut off routes into Sarajevo and took hostaqe scores of UN. personnel throughout Bosnia.

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His defiant troops advanced into the outskirts of uVorazde's east bank and ranned tank,artillery, and SmaJI arms fire into the town center

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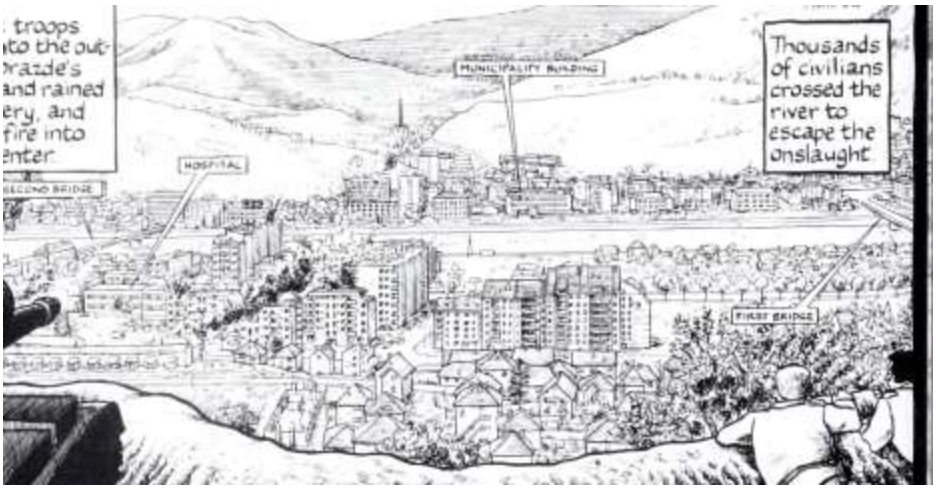

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Clinton's resolve slackened. He sought to reassure the Serbs that NATO and the UN. were not taking sides, that the air-strikes were designed —

A-TO GET THEM TO HONOR. THE UN. RULES, A KiP

TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO DO WHAT THEV SAV THEY WISH TO DO, WHICH IS TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS

■BRHH

But it seemed the Serbs would be ready to return to the negotiating table only to consolidate their gains after eliminating Grorazde or rendering it untenable.

'AMmM

On April 15, two U.N. Military Observers - who were actuaHy British commandos coordinating air operations over Qpraide. -were wounded,one - fatally

The next day a. NATO jet cal led in to destroy tanks firing into the town was shot down by a Serb missile.

I Vasushi Alcashi, the top u.m. official in the-former Yugoslavia, buckled. He openi^ wondered whether the un.'s peace-i keeping mandate in Bosnia was now "meaningless,'^

1

One of his senior aides said, "We are close to the end of what we can do."

In Gorazdes case, President Clinton was beginning to concur: He revived the earlier sentiments of <jenera.l Shalikashvili. Clinton nowbedeved-

I WAS

HOME fOR

SEVEN

I&&4

, M'yft^W- \T WOULDN'T "V NECESSARILY BE POSSIBLE FOR CLOSE AIR SUPPORT TO HAVE THE DESIRED MILITARY EFFECT...

The threat of air power had been tabled

AND THEY HAD BROKEN

our lines... and Pushed

ALL OUR.

FI&HTERS , INTO A TOWN jM

■0:

People froiYi kopaci were cominy into Gorazde... Ipassmy in front of my house. Seven or ten -(amities brought their stuff here. Clothes, food, TVs They knew me or mo. father

'But if I tell you, no, no, don't leave yourthinqs [here, you're yoiny to be angry.

"In one day the Serbs took aJI the territory from Ustipraca to Kopaci ...and we moved to my cousin's place. 1-thought Serb soldiers would take the town, kill a lot of people. Because of that I didn't want to carry any yoods from my house. '

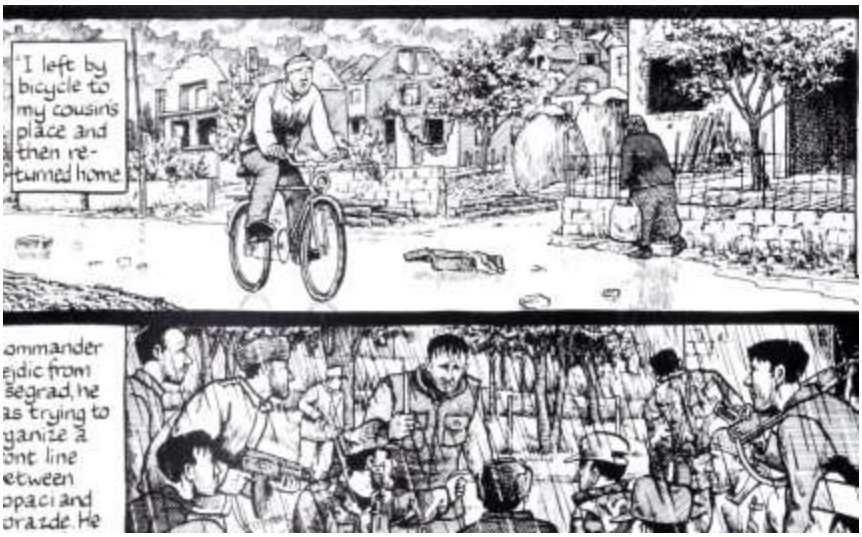
WE. WONT \2

&£ NEEDING m AWTHINfi. M

,i i i») i)ii)>»

'We took whatever we could in my -father's car He had yas. He always had five Uzcrs in the car just jn case.

'I left by bicycle to my cousins place and then re-imed home



Ihere was disorganization. You could do what you wajntecT--yoto the front line, stay in a basement. TTiere were no units. Collapse. |y Everything.

I Commander

Seidicfrom

|Viseqrad,he

Iwas trying to

I organize a I front line 1 between Kopaci and Gorazde. Me was in front I of my house I order iny our I soldiers to J pull back I from a church I up the road land make a line about 12-300 meters in front of Imu house.

I told them L was going with -mem as well. With [my brother

; 'There was the same amount of shelling on the line as in the center of -town.. It was better to be killed on the line.

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'Nobody ordered me back.

"Some of the guys I knew, some of them I didn't, We didn't <r\ted orders. Somebodu said:

ibodu,

S€T uP IN W THAT

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'...two, three, -four of us in each house, ten houses.

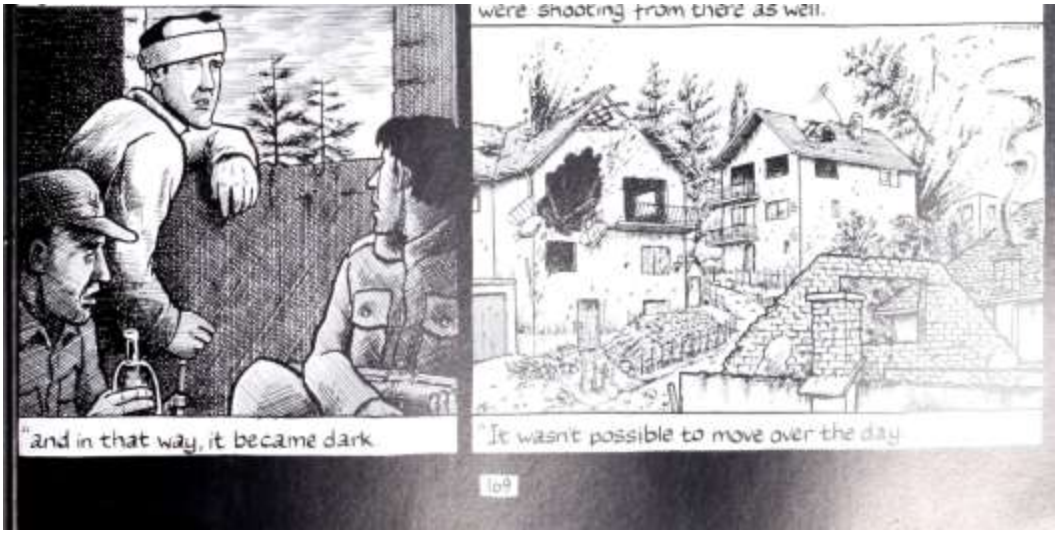
"I was in a house on the hilt. 1 gould see the Serbs coming, walking in a line, a long line.

jkspbE&S^

"When the NATO airplanes c3j^e, the tanks hid, under trees, under roofs, and when theu, left, the Serbs were coming a^am, using the main road.

"Someguu^s had brought brandu. We were sitting, one of us watching. We were talking, introducing ourselves

" Next morning. Iheu didn't hurru,. Around 11 they started shooting Three tanks, all f iring7pkjs artilleru, guns. Wed lost the territory across the river; and theu were shooting from there as well.



^^v

"We were -tt'LJinq I to hide in the basement wheie

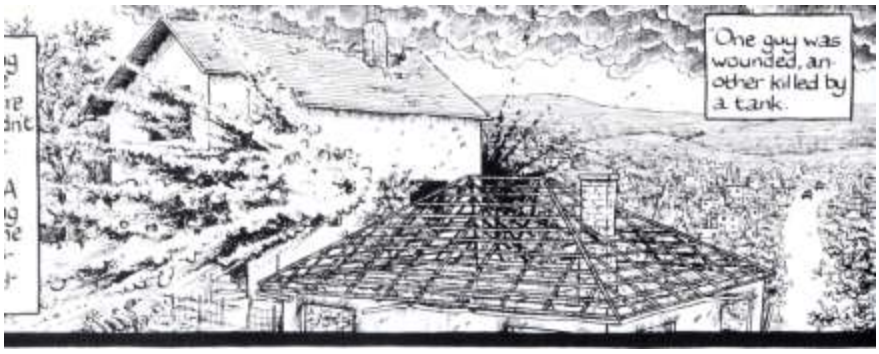
|j tank fire couldn't reach us, but sometimes it didn't work A

$|shell is comma through all the walls and destroying everything.

T

One quy was

wounded, another kil led by a tank.



'The Serbs could have passed vertj easily with their tanks. "They didn't know we didn't have anythin g, to destroy tanks. We didn't have anythmy. i.^ . ;>>.;. < ■;■->■—:,ysi > 'i;..-!.—,^ . vr;.:!»&^7**~

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'flrhaps there were 30,40 of us Some I" I thouqht everything was.yoiny to col lapse, the whole of us on the front, some -further behind Btown. \Ce didn't speak about that, we tried to encourage Itrying to f md food, brandy in houses Beach other, but 1 could see the faces

c 0k

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"We decided to fall back. I was against that, | 1 wanted to stay in the same position. But they decided —a number of refugees from Viseqrad. They didn't know me, I didn't know the™. Bppf!—

-1«

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we

ALREADY 3f LOST XUO M£si TODAY WE'LL GO . BACK AND WAIT. Uk>^

mavb£ support Jipi^j will come

"We fell back 200 meters.

["We es tablished a line ...just in front Op my house. We didn't yet anu. support -from town.

'There was no discussion about what we could do. What can you discuss?

"The Serbs were cominq from every side. Our people had left the other side of the river It was empty except for the hospital. "They didn't know what to do with the wounded peopic Where could they mo^e hundreds of people?

"The next momma, peaceful again until 11, 12, and then the Serbs started like the dau, before.

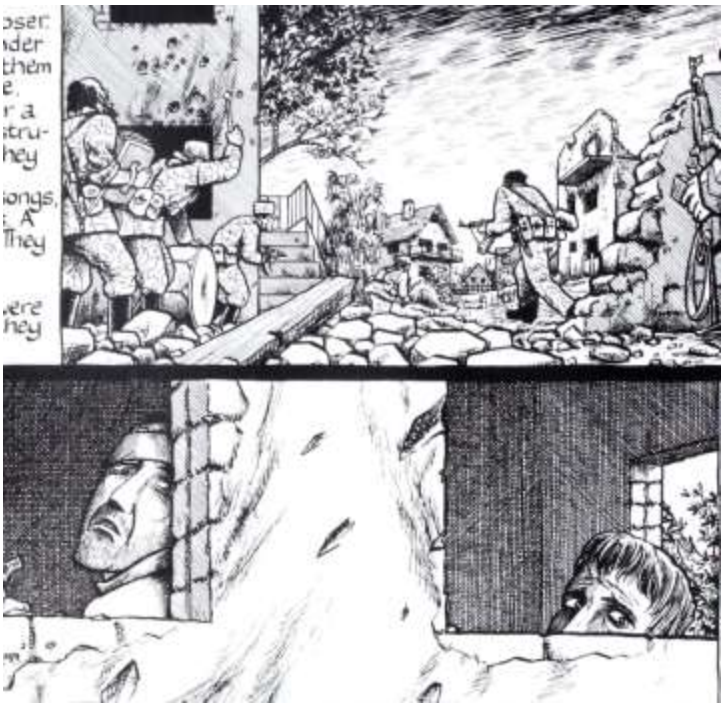
"The Serbs were coming from every side. Our people had left the other side of the river. It was empty except for the hospital. They didn't know what to do with the wounded people. Where could they move hundreds of people?
"The next morning, peaceful again until 11, 12, and then the Serbs started like the day before.
171

|"1hey came closer

tTheir Commander was ordering them with a whistle.

I You could hear a whistle and instruments... And they were Singing Montenegrin songs, Chetnik songs A lot of voices. Ihey were drunk, drugged, who knows ? They were

I singing when theu attacked.



"I thought, if I can just kill three of them before 1 die. 1 wouldn't allow muse If | to be captured I saw what happened to mu friends wno were captured in the first attack.

v,

"We were silent. We didn't shoot too much. We didn't have enough ammunition. You can imagine how awful it was -for us. Iheu, were enjoying themselves. "Theu, had everything. Power Tanks.

OceanofPDF.com

fc

T

"Our only hope was the Support of the world. We'd I expected that -for months and wars. We thought [they would stop \t... But they diJnt do anything

"/\^cL\r\, two or three of us were killed. By tank •fire, artillery,shelling...

<k

'That night one guy said we should -fall back, behind mu

house, closer -to town. i —;—

.—I LOOK,THERE'S A CEMETERY HERE, A CLEAR AREA, NO HOUSES. THEY CANT CROSS THAT FIELD.

I spent the night at mu cousin's home| because my head ached, the wound wasn't better 1 had to change the. bandages at the hospital... crossing the bridae in the first dark and the early morning:. | with mu. cousin or a car from the hospital

* «;

'Okay, we decided to stay. "Then back to the line...

'We were in my place, my grand mothers place.and across the main road in four or five houses further up the hill

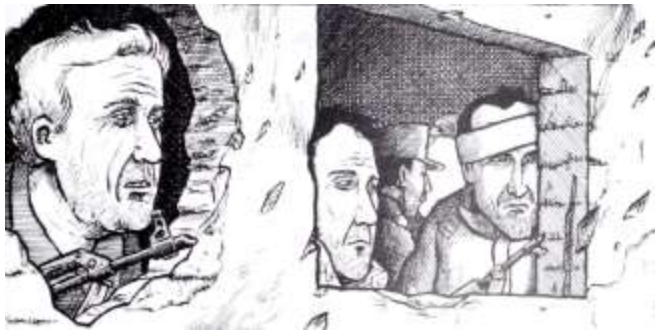
jfcWHI

I whistled to those refugees when it was peaceful to see if theu were stil I there. 1 was afrajd^theyd leave their positions so I wanted one of them with us.

A&3&

We were my f ather, my brother and me.. all day together ■"There was a big attack...The ~~ — fw —I Serbs C3xwe into the house justl

Mf. I in front of where the check-w /BpOtfit is now... 18 of them, we \ count ed, my father and I.



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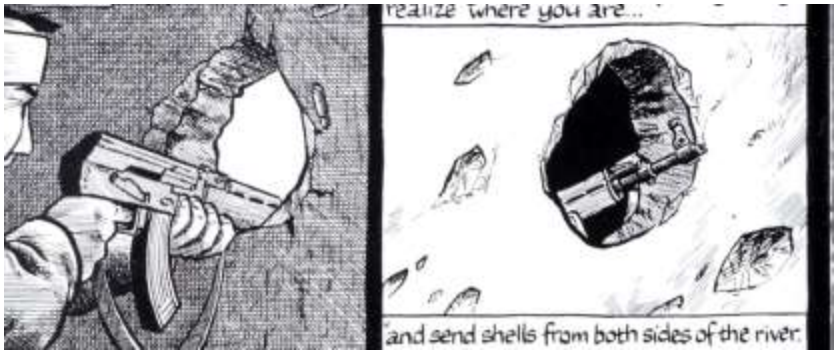
ybu can trust the most in your father and brother. If you're [wounded, they'd help you, but someone else might leave you.

I fired when 1 had a.target..

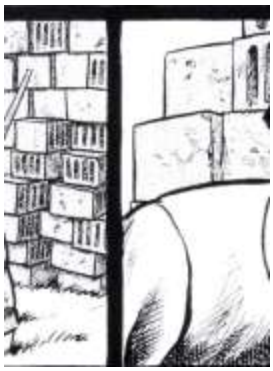
- | -

..... <*«, 1,^1^,

"buc if uou shoot too fre<3uent|u...-thaj realize where you are...



'and send shells from both sides of-the hver



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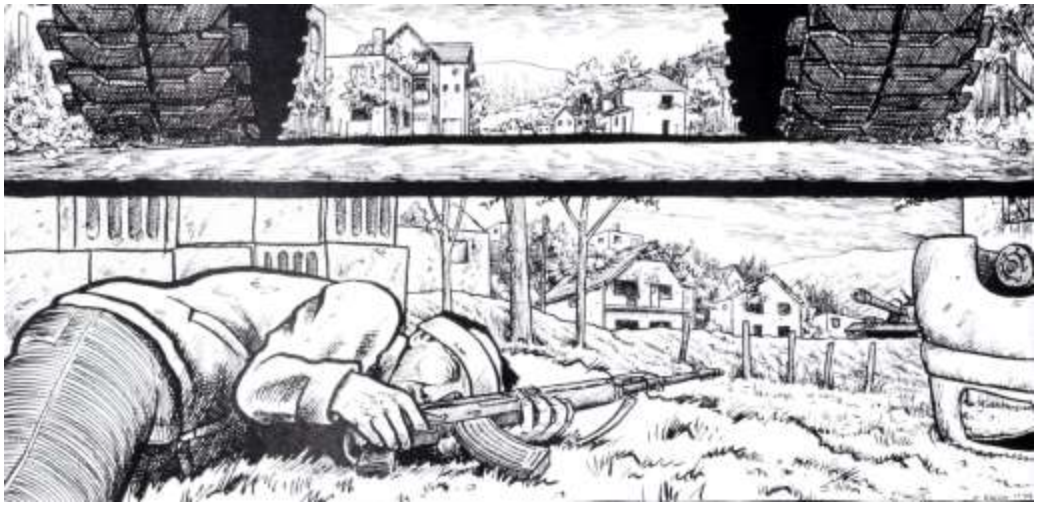

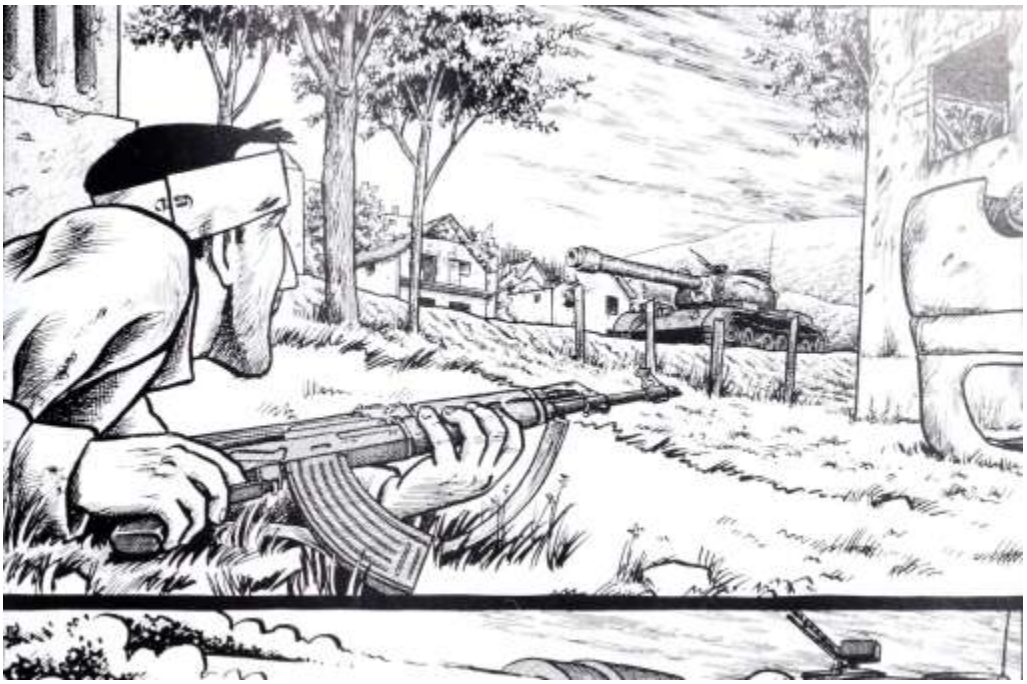

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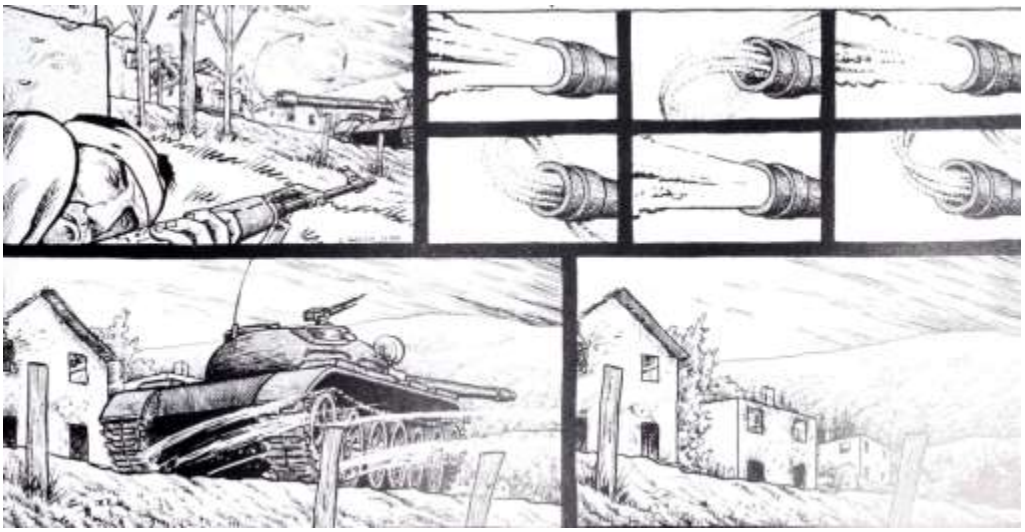
The tank fired into town for five or-ten minutes.



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Two were wounded that day,l"7hat night 36 re-|ugees -from Kbpaci organized a unit and came to I don't know if anyone was m help us. The

front Tine was in my house, and 1 explained where the

[killed, f

B

Serbs were, approximately how many, where the tank was..

I'M GOING- TO SLEEP AT MY COUSIN'S PLACE. I'LL COME BACK TOMORROW- THEY WONT, ATTACK BEFORE If.

'm

coming every night] 1-to tnilk the I

cow.

That night | we moved I the cow and the two sheep.

["In the morning I went to I the hospital to chanqe my bandages and then 1 tried to reach my house with one of mu neighbors. It was already 11 o'clock. They occupied the other side of the river and a Sniper could shoot you.

We were running between houses

tji<<d

"A couple of hundred meters -from my house B"And we thought, why not, the line is peaceful and I we met a. gnu who had slaughtered a sheep, 1 we have morrsoldiers there than yesterday and he invited us to eat...

Wjrd

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12... one o'clock,,, shooting.

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US.'

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The Serbs had come, tanks were shooting, try house had been hit by a. tank.

"I realized the Ime wag broken. Nobody on the line. Panic.

I didn't know what was happening onB"There were seven of us, maybe more, and we moved -fbr-

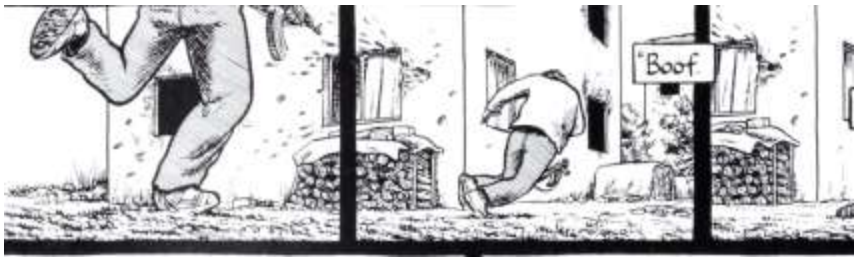
| the maun road, where the tanks were, (ward. I wanted to get closer to mu home.

Inothm^ Everything was empty

"We were shouting, screaming, ca.\\inQ each other I didn't know the people around me.

"The Serbs had prepared their positions and waited -for us.

'Two guys were killed, one of them m front of me. He was running from one house to another



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Just one shot. |

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1 threw stones at him iz> see if he was I "My brother and cousin thought I was stil I at home

I still alive. I was caJImg, calling. I didn't I They tned to reach it ..but they saw Serbs... the

I know him. Later they said he was from I Serbs had alreadu passed my house, they were

Rogatica. Recently married. | behind Serb lines and they came back

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1 staged alone in a house until dark... 1% I cousin and brother -found me there Theu were in a house behind me, but 1 couldn't speak to them.

J "When the dark qot deeper... soldiers came a Iqanized a line About 40 or 50 of them. And my ['brother told me mu. father had been wounded.

Two men earned him back... He was I in the hospital, but his wound wasn't 'life-threatening...

He'd fallen back, too...and a man near | Ve had our new positions, him was killed, shot through the head. My dad tried to help this man when I a grenade wounded him.

w

"It was spring and there were a lot of trees.

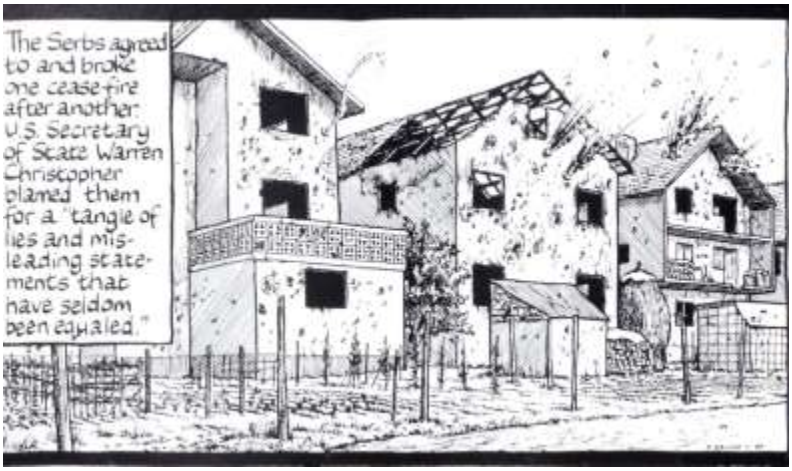
"1 could no bnqer see mu

I house."

(Ql n April if- a U.M. spokesman had announced that "Bosnian army n ^J defenses ' around fcora^ d e have collapsed —theu are non-e xistent I

U IsJ. Lt. General Rose admitted, "We are on the bri Italian disaster there,"and ordered the secret a UN Military Observers.

"The Serbs a^vt^J r to and broke one ceasefire afteranother u.s. secretary of State Warren Christopher blamed them for a. "tangle of I lies and mis-i leading statements that have seldom beeneo^aled."


The Serbs agreed to and broke one cease-fire after another. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Chriscopher blamed them for a "tangle of lies and mis-leading state-ments that have seldom been equaled."

"The Russians saw a withdrawal pledae they had brokered sidestepped by Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic while Akashi, the compliant and non-confronU-j tional U.N. regional chief announced progress. A disgusted Russian Deputy foct\ar\ Minister Vitaly Churkin said, "IVe heard more broken promises in the last Z4 houts than 1 have in mu entire life." President Boris Veltsin demanded, "Stop the attacks. Withdraw from Gorazde."

Said Karadzjc-.

THE SERglAN SlD£ UNILATERAL^ PROCLAIMS [PEACE IN uQRAZDE WITH k THlS, THE uORAZ.DE CRISIS COMES TO AN END.

But the Serb attack continued.

£!|K9g8|

■ ^t i T 1 ! ^ >.

PATIENTS

WERE IN THE

BASEMENT, IN THE

KITCHEN, THE

.AUNPR.Y, WITH

THE CHAR.-

AL.

Hi

?0 TO 100 PATIENTS' WERE. COhlhlG IN IN 24

HOUftS.

Meanwhile, Bosnian | President Izetbeo,-ovic had written to u.ti. Secretary G-eneral Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "jhe I so-cal led safe area has become the most unsafe place in the world... Neither you nor your personnel nave done anything to use tKe mandate of all those resolutions to protect the people of 6orazde or the credibility of the United Nations/'

assy* '-

I ' U" .ll'HMW ' JIffi ' L'.WUMimir 1 Illl Illl INim ilM , -. . — s: —™.

J-L*£> i-Up jj

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KMaiiTtm-.mirrTp.. -.. j:..

xty-'

lu

^ surgeon doesn't have time to prioritize. Of course, we had no pain killers, people were

suffering, dying... Relatives, friends, neighbors were everywhere. We couldnt stop them. We

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idn't want -to 5top them... How could you? It might be the last minutes with their loved one.

V

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5.-*/«?' •:!

|U"A lot of children wer e wounded,.. dead children.

^ 7\ II

In one day 9? wounded persons came in. from 10 p.m. -till 5 30am. there v&re. 4?

'y&'i-JZz

I*

S^fefe

"I -thought it was the end, that they d kil I us all. Ch the way to my hous e, 1 didn't know if I'd I survive^ WW\

fmMM

>mm/ ij> -

m

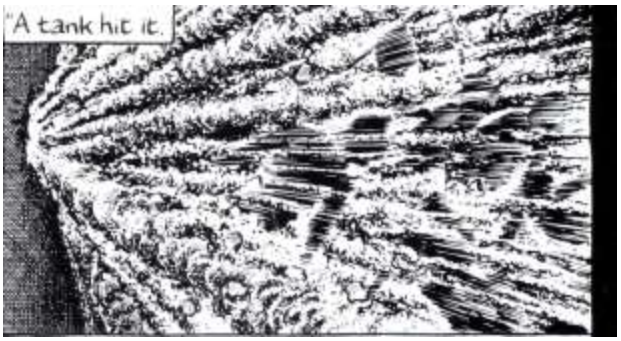
WMi '/M^A^mm ^rm

I "AH the time they wepe shelling."

WE HAD A DEPARTMENT

FOR. PRESSING, I FOB. U-IV/ING INJECTIONS, ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE Of THE STREET-

WITH BEDS.



" Ten patients and one nurse were killed, many wounded.

rl saw a patient trying to run , -trying tol"The tank -Fired at the £)a,te and killed him

i It was im-| possible to cross the street. We thought es/trupnt in there was dead.

"It was impossible to cross the street. We thought everyone in there was dead.
"Not many people were killed in the hospital itself. We were very lucky considering the number of shells that hit."
WE KEPT THE SAME POSITIONS FOR THE NEXT THREE OR FOUR DAYS.

were killed mtheHte^ hospital itself

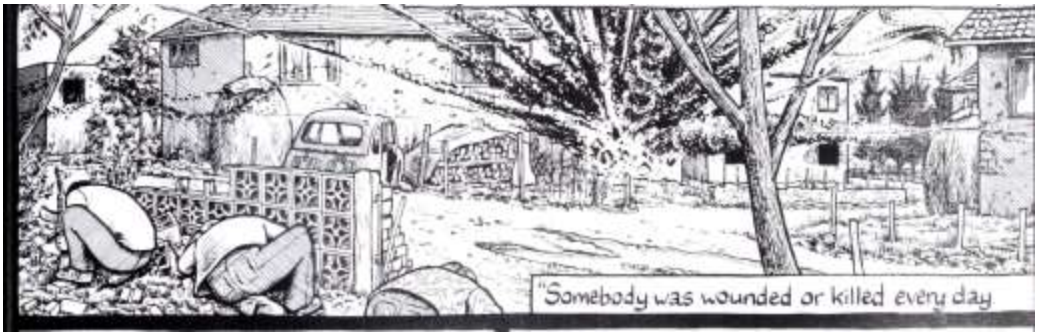
We were very

._ ;u consider-inq the number of H^

lucku cons ing the nutr [shells t hat hit

y •'■ ".ilr-'iiMiJ.fMll'

^"They were attacking, shooting, but-the line didn't change.



\ "-j Somebody was wounded or killed every day

'Two yuys came with an RF&* but whenever a I * There was a terri ble panic, especial Ijj in eel lars tank showed itself; they were taking cover

Bamony girls and women.

frne serbs

ARE IN FRPNT OF THIS BUILDING/

, >.-i

, THEY'LL iJi \5£->W BE HERE

•" '

Youd b ecome more panicked ifyout i

183]

R.P&: ROCKET PROPELLED &R£NA!>E

" NATO planes were always circling, fly ling above the town, but they didn't do |anything.Only watching,taking pictures.

I didn't understand. It seemed all the countries of the world were 9oinq to allow the serbs to take this town although it was a protected town."

On April 22, NATO gave the Serbs Ian ultimatum demanding an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of their-forces -from &orazde.

f\77]i-th the unrelent-L-^J mg Serb attack and mounting death toll dominating headlines, Grorazde had become a symbol of the meaning less-ness of the safe area concept specif icallu and the impotence of the international community generally. Facing the seemingly imminent collapse of Qorazde and a loss in its own credibility In foreign affairs, the Clinton administration revtrsed course, again. The U.S. got NATO backing to pressure the U.n. Secretary General to request NATO air-strikes to deter attacks against the safe areas—and not just the U.N personnel withm them

The Serbs would have [to pay-

-A HIGHER

price fofc

CONTINUED VIOLENCE.

The Serb artillery barrage intensified.

"I didn't understand. It seemed all the countries of the world were going to allow the Serbs to take this town although it was a protected town."
lines, Gorazde had become a symbol of the meaninglessness of the safe area concept specifically and the impotence of the international community generally. Facing the seemingly imminent collapse of Gorazde and a loss in its own credibility in foreign affairs, the Clinton administration reversed course again. The U.S. got NATO backing to pressure the U.N. Secretary General to request NATO air-strikes to deter attacks against the safe areas — and not just the U.N. personnel within them.
CONTINUED VIOLENCE.
On April 22, NATO gave the Serbs an ultimatum demanding an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of their forces from Gorazde.
NATO DEMANDS OF SERB WITHDRAWALS
ROGATICA
PULL-BACK TROOPS 3 KM BY APRIL 23
HERCEGA
KOPACI
PULL-BACK HEAVY WEAPONS 20 KM BY APRIL 26
GORAZDE
DRINA
CAJNICE
FOCA
The Serb artillery barrage intensified.
The Russians, ostensibly sympathetic to the Serb cause, dropped their previous objections to air-strikes. Said Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, "The Bosnian Serbs' military command has criminally defied the elementary norms of humanity."

The Russians, ostensibly sympathetic to the Serb cause, dropped their previous objections to air-strikes. Said foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, "The Bosnian Serbs' military command has criminally defied the elementary norms of humanity."

HI

As NATO pushed hard for air-strik&s, the Serbs hmted at further reprisals J against U.M. I peacekeepers I should they Itake place. U.N. representative Akashi declined to request air-strikes, say-ling he had (assurances I the Serbs I would withdraw.

The berbs recognized that they had played the game as far as it could c NATO and the Russians were now arrayed against; them, and onlu a command mechanism that kept the air-strike trigger in the hands of U.N. official Akashi hadl kept additional bombs from falling, i—

The Serbs allowed a convoy of UN. peacekeepers into town and permitted British and french helicopters to take out Gorazde's most heavily wounded

■

UN
The Serbs allowed a convoy of U.N. peacekeepers into town and permitted British and French helicopters to take out Gorazde's most heavily wounded
THEY WERE BURNING MOST OF THE HOMES

The Serbs began ItO pul l-back from Gorazde and as they left-

'Chetnik soldiers were.]00 meters away...andjust as they ran back I came to my house.

U&3

^C>^ J

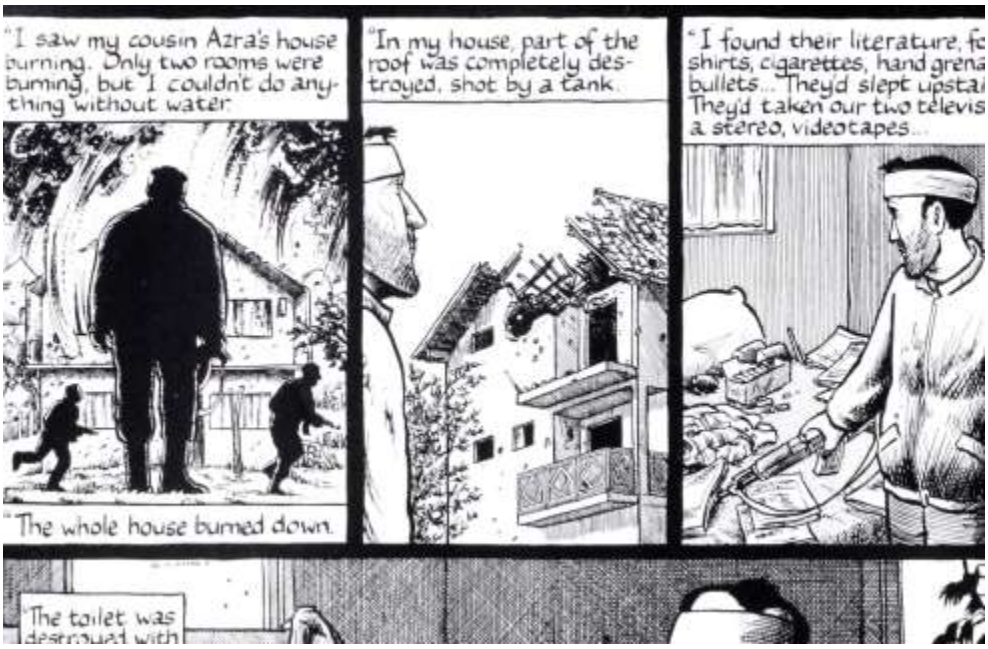
is

| ■■MM-A 1851

' 1 found three bottles d fuel in the comer ready for makiny a fire. But probably they were rushed and didn't have time. 1

I saw mu cousin Azras house ("In my house, part of the [burning. uVtly two rooms were (roof was completely des-burnin£), but I couldn't do any-■troyed, shot by a tank, thiny without water

"I found -their literature,-faod, shirts, cigarettes, hand grenades, bullets...They'd slept upstairs... They'd taken our two televisions, a stereo, videotapes...


"I saw my cousin Azra's house burning. Only two rooms were burning, but I couldn't do anything without water.
"In my house, part of the roof was completely destroyed, shot by a tank.
"I found their literature, fo
shirts, cigarettes, hand grena
bullets... They'd slept upsta
They'd taken our two televis
a stereo, videotapes...
"The whole house burned down.
The toilet was

The toilet was destroyed, with shit everywhere. Oris. o£ | the rooms up-1 stairs was full of Shit... rubbish, shit... They used mu room like a toilet...

it

Tin the view ^ofLt. General Hose, the UN.S top military co lYiwand-er irT Bosnia, | the battle for ubrazde

had endangered his J peacekeepers and brouqht thft UN. perilously close to taking sides in the war

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)Brl

\fiz$r.

"I cleaned

up... My mother didn't comC, she was scared to come. It was a mess here."

Visitmy British peacekeepers, who hadjustset up in Gorazde, he said that the Bosnians-

v

-THINK THAT WE. SHOULP BE FIGHTING-THE. WAR. FOR I THE.M...

KOW THE HELL DID THEY L£T TANKS DOWN THAT ROUTE?

ON£ BLOKE WITH A CROWBAR COULD HAVE STOPPED THAT TANK.

't?

yf\

sssas si#z&!<e?vsS!&

THINK THE'/ SASICAL0 TURNED ANO RAN AND LEFT US TO TRY AND

pick op the pieces

fOR THEM.

^fiw>

Said Rose. "The situation was a lot better than I had been led to believe... the town had not been destroyed to the level which I had expected."

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Later, an unidentified senior U.N. militaru officer-who was later identified as Lt.General Rose —claimed that Crorazde's casualties had been inflated "in order to shame the world into doing something." He said casualty figures had come from untrustworthy sources, among them the U.N. Military Observers, whom he said were o^ sl low standard. The observers, whom Rose himself had ordered in, were, in fact, elite British troops.

Rose toured the hospital and claimed its director; Dr Segovic, had admitted that casualty estimates "were indeed an exaggeration."

jLJJh

(Pr. &eqovic told me he was qreatly upset i by Rose's representation of his remarks.)]

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In any case, the uX/. High Commission -for Refugees stuck to its casualty f ig-uresjorthe '94 offensive against uorazde — more than Too killed, nearly IPOO wounded.

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BOOTS. 7

BOOTS!
Today was the day teachers got their boots
The day before students had received theirs, the UNHCR had passed out a cheapo orange-colored model made in Italy and much derided in Gorazde
The teacher variety was purported to be much better
Boots, boy oh boy!
A bonus on top of his cigarette wages!
EVERYTHING IS FOR NOTHING.
WE'RE PAID NOTHING.
WE'RE KILLED FOR NOTHING.
CAN YOU IMAGINE THAT ON THE TRIP TO GREBAK LIFE WAS WORTH ONLY 20 TO 25 KILOGRAMS OF SUPPLIES.

life: is

WOfJTH HO-THIN6.

the first ^GunSSefiZu j W7~^ Time I have 1 fh iUe%^^r^ 0u 'EV£R. SAT AT A TARE 1 tkA?TU4» mt id / H * V E. I WITH AN MwcM,lj^M d &c£ndedl v£RV

ir will e£ mj*>tere tkesd&I'L^TH. usr. *%&*&»$>*

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T£U-MR. CLINTON A60UT MY TwO BROTHERS.

TELL MR.CUMTON ABOUT THE PAIN IN MY

SOUL.

I was not all ways one man for the job.
One old man took one look at me and abandoned all hope that the U.S. military could rescue Bosnia.

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111 art 5 ^ rt

■Kfr

One night, on my first trip to Goražde, my colleague Whit and I were out relaxing over a bottle of home-made
Whit was having an animated chat with Edin's uncle, an eloquent man who'd spent some years in America and whose English was fluent.
Meanwhile, I was sandwiched between the wall and F.
F. didn't know much English, but I understood that his wife was in Sarajevo, that he hadn't seen her in years.
Ask anyone who knows me, I am a very pleasant fellow. And I was being very pleasant to F.
I listened politely while he patched fragments of English together to tell the story of how he'd assisted a foreign journalist and been paid $100 for 2 days' work.
Meanwhile, I wanted in on Whit's conversation.
MISTER? MISTER?
AMERICA...
AMERICA MAN THINKS BOSNIA MAN PRIMITIVE.
JOURNAL-IST...
WHY YOU COME?
MONEY?

I THINK-
SREBRENICA
I BE-COME ANGRY
VERY ANGRY
SIX THOUSAND KILLED SREBRENICA
WHAT YOU THINK, MISTER?
MISTER?
YOU DON'T WRITE FOR SREBRENICA
I wanted Eain to intervene, Whit to notice... I wanted out, out of there... I wanted to put a hundred thousand miles between me and Bosnia.
between me and these horrible, disgusting people and their fucking wars and pathetic prospects...

fOCK

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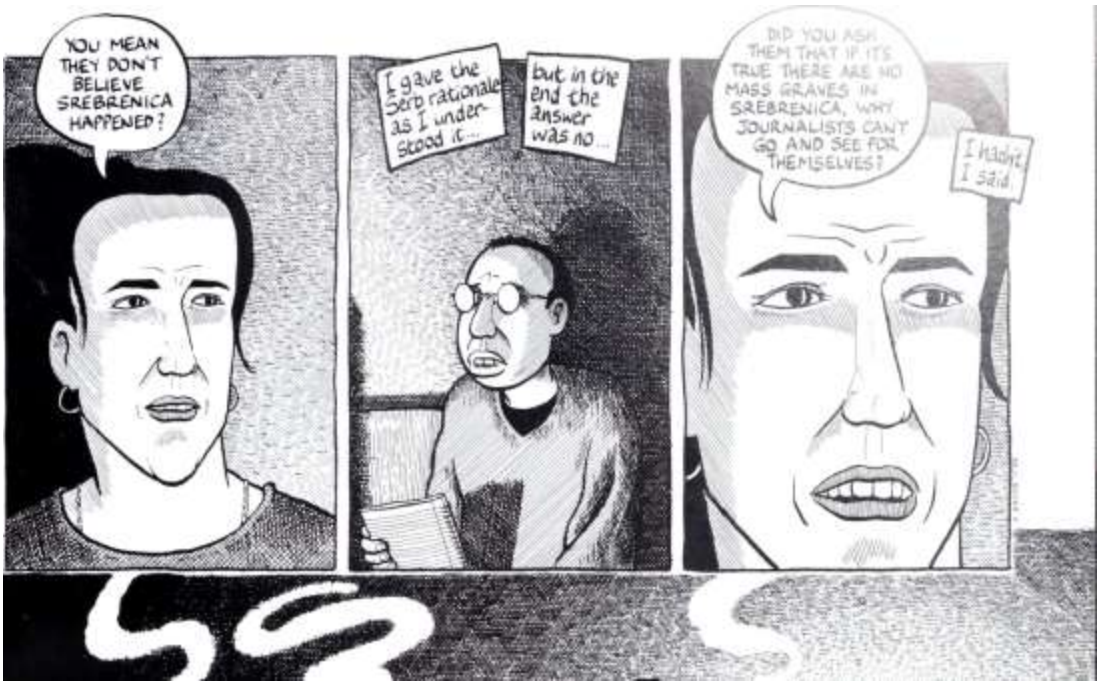
igot back to 1 ^ and felt I Wink yon.

At least \Kmeta,

\$oodmood

SILLY GIRLS PART III
At least Kimeta was in a good mood
She'd just told us about her new, improved sweetie, a refugee from Rogatica, and he was a bit nearer, incidentally, than Mr Medivac'd, who'd been two-timing her in Dublin...
But Sabina!
Not only were things getting rocky with Dude, but I'd just delivered a package from relatives in Sarajevo—
and—
well—
She'd been very specific about what sort of jeans they should send—
the label said 501s but—
THEY'RE NOT ORIGINALS
Nudejma, who'd been brooding darkly about her beau, wasn't making things easier
THEY PROBABLY BOUGHT THEM AT THE MARKET.
EVERYONE WILL KNOW THEY'RE NOT ORIGINALS
They fit well enough...
MAYBE I COULD WEAR THEM WITH A COAT COVERING THE LABEL
THAT WON'T DO ANY GOOD
THEY'RE OBVIOUSLY EURO-PEAN

I FEEL LIKE CRYING
JOE, ARE YOU "DESIROUS" OF SEEING YOUR PARENTS AGAIN?
Ah, trust Riki to test drive a newly looked-up word.
to get in some practice no matter what...
So I conjugated a few verbs for him...
but that was hardly entertaining the multitude.
the evening was getting glum.
I decided to amuse everyone with tales of my visits to the other side, to Grbavica, a Serb-held area of Sarajevo.
I'd made some friends there.
The silly girls were curious about how the Serbs were getting along and whether the Serbs were curious about them.
DO THEY ASK ABOUT THE PEOPLE IN GORAZDE?
A couple of people had, I said.
Then I read from my interviews, and most Serbs hadn't minced words: they didn't want to live with Muslims, they accused the Muslims of starting the war, of all kinds of atrocities...
As for Serb atrocities, most Serbs I talked to denied they'd happened.
194


YOU MEAN THEY DON'T BELIEVE SREBRENICA HAPPENED?
I gave the Serb rationale as I understood it...
but in the end the answer was no...
DID YOU ASK THEM THAT IF IT'S TRUE THERE ARE NO MASS GRAVES IN SREBRENICA, WHY JOURNALISTS CAN'T GO AND SEE FOR THEMSELVES?
I mean, I said.

•

• ■'

Death

ance

I STARTED WORK/N£ fOR TH£ BRITISH PEACEKEEPERS IN MlD JANUARY 1995

1 would go to Bhtbat with mu bicycle from the technical school I over the pedestria n bridge.

7*m

tfiliif;

r WAS

WORKING

AT SCHOOL,

TOO, Z4

HOURS A

W££K.

"The Serbs could see the second bridge, the first bridge, everything.

'It was dangerous, especially be-I cause of snipers. They wen? shooting many times.

"At Bntbat 1 worked with an engineering squadron. 1 built them a mini-centrale. They had generators,] but they w anted it for emergency Situations. |

I "I stayed on as a translator:

Li f

VI was part-1

Itime and they paid me with food. [Sometimes eggs, flour, canned food. ISometimes coffee, sometimes coke"

O.N. peacekeepers had retained their presence in 1 —' (aorazde since the er\d of the Serb offensive of 1994 In 1995 mostly British and Ukranian peacekeepers were stationed there i

The berDS were * *&&<& ■ — ■-^~«"^-——-Trr^--^- ^^ .. -^

only intermittently allowing the resupply of the peacekeepers and relief convoys into the enclave.

Meanwhile, the Bosnian Serb military was preparing a decisive campaign to end the war that year. Its commander; General Ratko Mladic, would first test the resolve and unity of the international community on the Sarajevo front.

Mladic once referred to himself as a "super-general "

IF I'D &EEN

f A surseon, I'D

HAVE BEEN A SuPER-SURGEON. IF I'D BEEN A LAWYER, I'D HAVE BEEN A SUPER-LAWYER.

L

^/

In May his forces seized back, heavy weapons- previously tumid over to the UN. by agreement—and added them to a renewed bombardment of Sarajevo.

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NATO retaliated with limited air strikes, and Mladic's men once. again took hundreds of U.M. soldiers and personnel hostage, includinq 33 British peacekeepers -from the Goraide enclave.

rther demonstrated the limits
of air power to NATO and the
ing a U.S. fighter with a
air missile.
On June 4 the commander of U
Yugoslavia, Lt. General Bernard
met Mladic to obtain the relea
than half of whom were French.
Janvier first promise there be
Whether Mladic got
an explicit guarantee from J
three days later a phased rel

Some of these hostages were chained to Serb military installations as human shields.
commander of U.N. military forces in the former
eneral Bernard Janvier of France, secretly
obtain the release of the hostages. more
om were French. Mladic demanded that
romise there be no future air strikes.
ic got
arantee from Janvier is still disputed, but
er a phased release of the hostages began.
his part,
Lt. General
vier had
ady ex-
ised his
givings
ut the U.N.'s
mitment
he eastern
areas and
presence of
eacekeepers
re. Defend-
those safe
is, he had
ued, could
ravene U.N.
trality.
ABOVE ALL LET US BE HONEST WITH OURSELVES AND THOSE WE ARE PLEDGED TO PROTECT
ONE SHOULDN'T PLAY IN THE STORM IF ONE CANNOT THROW LIGHTNING BOLTS

The Serbs -further demonstrated the limits and danqers of air power to NATO and the U.N. by Jowninq a U.S. fi3hter with a Surface-to-air missile.

On June4,-the commander of UN. military forces in thefonner Yugoslavia, Lt. General Bernard Janvier of France, secretly met Mladic to obtain the

release of the hostages, more than half of whom were frendn. Mladic demanded that Janvier first promise there be no future di\r strikes.

On June9, the Ut*'$ topavil-lian representative in the area,

7asushi Akashi, indicated the

U.N. would back away frorvi | confrontation with the, Serbs.

It would now— [abide

STRICTLY &v PEAC£KE.£PiNO-PR-INCIPUES...

^

/V\ ,

Whether Mladic got 1

an explicit guarantee from Janvier is sfall disputed, but

three daijs tater a phased release of the hostages began

Satisfied the UN. had been cowed, General Mladic now turned his attention to eastern Bosnia, and its safe areas.

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ffH£ THREE EASTERN 4 SAFE AREAS. JULf 1995

For his part, u.N. Lt. General Janvier had already expressed his misqivings about the UN.'s commitment to the eastern safe areas and the presence of its peacekeepers there. Defending those safe areas, he had argued, could contravene UN. neutrality

■E

«■■■■■

I [Miladies first target I ^-^ was Srebrenica, whose fighters had wayed an aggressive war against nek}h-borinySerb vil I ages early mthe conflict. Their attacks often were followed by a wave of desperate, hungry Muslim civilians-many of whom lhad bean cleansed I-from -their own eom-Imunities-lootiny land burning homes land exacting venye-lance on the Serbs lthey caught.

M

> "*4

. .-*>(S

After an over- P whelming Serb offensive in 1993, the enclave's de fenders had aareed fj to a UN-monitored f demilitarization* and Srebrenica had become the first UN. safe area. jl^ ,,.ny —T"—

iT

Mladic launched his attack on Srebrenica in July 1995. His forces brushed aside the Dutch peacekeepers seasoned there and took some of them hostage. The Dutch put up no resistance themselves but called for air support to halt-the Serbs six times.

Finally, five days after the first re-quest, two NATO planes made bomb-[ino, runs. They^ were ineffective,.

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Their requests were turned down \or postponed by top UNi. officers, including Janvier personally, even after-the Dutch themselves came under attack.

The Serbs threatened to kill -their I Dutch hostages and shell panicked [civilians if NATO attacked again.

In any case, it was too late. Bosnian Isoldiers, who had beloved -the u.n

would defend the safe area, put up [an ineffectual defense.

TH£R.e WAS A VEfW gift PANIC

"**

fex

The Serbs entered Srebrenica.

.SfjOTO,

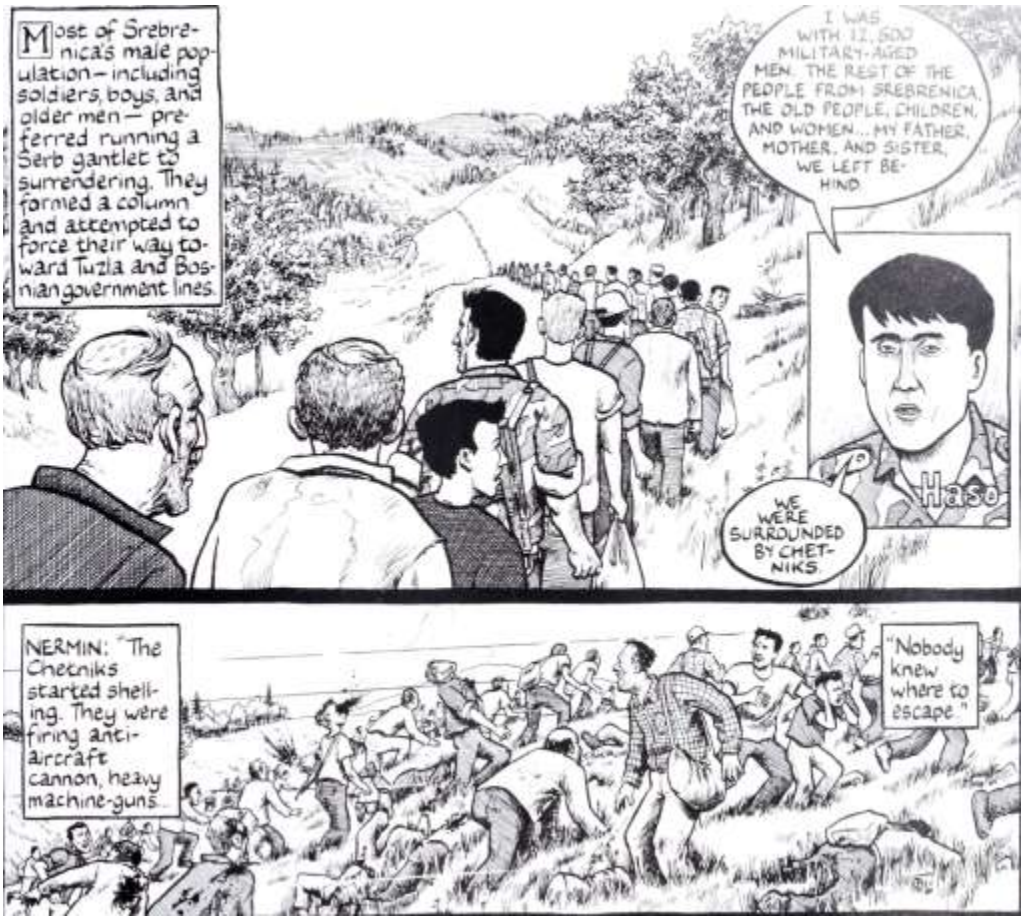
'1 left Srebrenica with other soldiers. The civilians went to Potocari, the maJn base of UN. forces..."

Y /:

■"*>>

*>»-

I WAS WITH 12,500 MILITARY-AGED MEN. THE REST OF THE „ PEOPLE FROM SREBRENICA, WjM TWE 0UD p£ ^Fle ' CHILDREN, AND WOME.N... MV fATHER MOTHER, AND SiSTER, r _ rm . W£ LEFT 6E-VxW&Sb*. HiNP.


Most of Srebrenica's male population — including soldiers, boys, and older men — preferred running a Serb gantlet to surrendering. They formed a column and attempted to force their way toward Tuzla and Bosnian government lines.
I WAS WITH 12,500 MILITARY-AGED MEN. THE REST OF THE PEOPLE FROM SREBRENICA, THE OLD PEOPLE, CHILDREN, AND WOMEN... MY FATHER, MOTHER, AND SISTER, WE LEFT BEHIND.
Haso
WE WERE SURROUNDED BY CHETNIKS.
NERMIN: "The Chetniks started shelling. They were firing anti-aircraft cannon, heavy machine-guns.
"Nobody knew where to escape."

NERMlM: The Chetniks started shelling. Theu, were firing antiaircraft cannon, heavy machine-guns..

HASO: We escaped -from Konjevicl"! went back to pick up mu I 'The Chetniks had flashlights Polie... We left wounded and ifriend. Med been woundedl?e- land thet) we re killing the wounded dead people behind. Iside fne. I approached the village gonebu, one. "

|where mu. friend was wounded.

B

Jverthe next few days, the men from Srebrenica, only a third of whom were armed, fell into ambush after ambush as they tried to break through 40 kilometers of Serb-controlled territory.

Both Nermin arid Haso claimed the Serbs attacked the column with whattheq called ' "combat

gas."

Perhaps the incapacitating chemical agent BZ, a bem.late compound, I "combatyas" rendenedits victims disoriented and hallucinatory, among other I effects, they said

HASO: "The f inng had been going on -for 10 minutes Bosnian soldiers were surrendering to the Serbs. They were not behavmo, normal-1 ly-crd.z^ because of the combat gks.

"My neighbor was caotured with a large group,., more [than 3- or 400soldiers. TT>ey were {breed to sau-

WEARE W WE ARE

SER3S0U IflHESERB

PIERS A ARMY

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rTheu were

taken away, and I didn't see what happened to them."

NERMIN: "1 was with a group of (soldiers who'd Isurvived those | 1 ambushes and mines. The IChetniks saw us.

ff£#

■-WV

Some people started Surrendering. Some starred carry inq the woundea toward the Chet-niks. A lot of them is/ere crazy fnom combat gas.

1 stayed there in the field. My brother and a couple of I friends were with me...

*1 wasn't feeling normal...I was I "The Chetniks approached and [suffering from combat gases. J sta rted fi ring..

'I didn't know what was happening around me.

Mi

I* DESPITE MANY EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS. J HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH POUND EVIDENCE0F| laAS ATTACKS "INCONCLUSIVE"TH0U6H I SUCH ATTACKS "CANNOT BE RULED OUT '

'Two guys approached me. .. I didn't l*7ne Or <nowthem. i 11 im— wmii'iuM ~n ii h i '

around us.

"We were together all night.

"1 heard truing;and screaming in I We stayed till early rnornina.lhe I the field. And thetnik voices. I Chetniks called on as to ^o toward They were shouting Iluzla.

r vJ^^|fUCKlNf

so^.^e.1

Bfl '-'

'The two guys agreed to o/> with Some Serbs— they didn't know they were Serbs, r

ifci ;* i

X knew so I stayed hidden.

'The Chetniks discovered me. I "One Chetnik started shooting in

R \ P rf, i W v *^Mt.^f'!*^ %^#£fB'th e air I pretended nothing was

■happening -

r

'"They thought the combat qas had damaged mu mind...so vheu left me.

"W

il.TJiWft

/t

"After 15 minutes I realized there 1 wasn't anyone around ...I started moving toward "Zepa."

M ermin had given , ^-'up on reaching Ifuzla and joined lother stragglers I retracing-tneir ■ ;togettothe

WwPks, \\|flsafe area directlu south of Srebrenica

I -found about 200 men searching for Chetniks to Surrender to. 1 was in a group of 15 people, and they asked if we were surrender^.

*A REFERENCE TO THE | I PR£SIPENT OF BOSNIA.

"The 15 of us moved toward Zepa, buC [-the rest of them started surrendering."

HASO

:"We {bund another group in the forest and we stayed-there days. I ate only apples -for seven days. j

'We- made the decision to go back toward Srebrenica..

"We sawmanyl dead people. They were soloTers, some | old people-

(The Serbs had put | bodies in the forest Probably they had kapturlcl them, kil led <hem, and put them in the forest. One beside another Some had been killed by gunfire, others bu slaughtering." "

«*j

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MPS*

"ItwastMt field of an ambush. * They \jlrZ

lying where tneq were killecl

mmuetum

&7

Haso reached Zepasep-I aratelu after I5ng and dangerous trips.

[Alack in -the Srebrenica enclave. General ^> Mladic and 5erb soldiers had walked among Muslim civilians gathered -for pro-[tection at the U.N, compound.

£

Y0U HAVE MO

REASON TO /y>

ee Af raip.

' v-

The Serbstransported the Muslim women and children to Bosnian government territory. However; while disarmed Dutch peacekeepers watched, hundreds of men in the civilian 3roup were separated and led away.

SHI

«H

m

<Cfc

n|/M*1

Liiuit 1

His men dispensed sweets

IT IS ABSOLUTELY CXEAfc THAT WE CANT

RElNfOfcCE

WE CANY PE-k F£egp 2£pA A5 A RESULT

Within several days, Zepa would fall to the attacking Serbs with barely a murmur from those who had once proclaimed it a safe area.

Many of 2epa's men hid in caves around the town be-fore trekking Ito Bosnian oovemment territory [or technically neutral Serbia

im^Mm*

Nlermin and Haso spent almost a month and a half in a. cave before loiniru} a yroup that crossed Serb territory to 6orazde.

--'^

-Li:

l -ll

i That's where 1 met them.

The Serbs trucked Hasds mother and sister -from Srebrenica, to Bos-i man cpvernment lines, but—

MTf FATHER WAS TAK6N IfROMTHECOMVJV, IN &HATUMAC

I DJMT KNOW WMAT5 HAPPENEP TO HiM.

AvA

I asked Nermin if he knew what happened to his brother, from whom he'd been separated in the break-out from Srebrenica..

I D0N T HAVE ANY INFORMATION ASOOTi HIM.

1 DON'T

Know if he's peap.

•€S>-

AV\

J^ti 3tffii

A t -the end of July 1995, Goraide was the last remaining ^ U.N.-desiynated safe area in eastern Bosnia. Said Mladic-

."'J*^

ey the autumn we lu take

GORAZPE, BIHAC, AND, IN THE

ENP, SARAJEVO AND WE'LL

Finish THE war

IN BOSNIA

'v.\

All of us

THOU&HT WE WERE NEXT.

'After Srebrenica and Zepa W Purina a very heavy shellinq of \Oor 15 fell, we expected an attack I days, the British soldiers left Cxoraide from the other side. We knew \ax\d hid themselves in the deep forest.. what was ^oin^ on. We were

dfe.

^P0^';Mqettma Rad.o Sarajevo and ||fii|^fl Voice of America

"People reajized. We didn't have any protection -from them.

"Some of our soldiers wanted to take arms, weapons, whatever they could from the U.N. soldiers, because they were useless Tie | Dutch in Srebrenica, hadn't done anything,.

"Mm mother was scared about my broth |ano mine. She told us many times —

TAKE CAK£] OF yourselves.

leave ' us.

£v

VOU MUST

' TRY TO FIND A

' WAV TO fiJEACH

' SARAJEVO, FREE

TERRITORY

fT"W fall of the Srebrenica LAJsafe area and the liq>d-jation of Muslim men -from |there was the nadir of the UN.5 tenure, in Bosnia.

/^n

|keeping mission had -failed.

Even before the Srebrenica disaster the British and French had begun to prepare for the possible withdrawal ofthe<r larae peacekeeping contingents ■from what had lonqbeen considered a quagmire.

Id had something packed far one and a half years

<<=&,

««&

[glut the U.S. row had l=-l an Openinatojore-stall a u.n, pull-out by leading the allies into direct confrontation with the berbs

1 from the air. The allies had beenouc-

, raqed by the maqni-tu3e of*the UN's humiliation at Srebrenica, and at a conference convened in London on July Z1,the U.S. galvanized them into issuinq a warning to the "Serbs

| that a final tripwire had been set - at ^ora-zde*

i*tim7 zepa, which was 1stiu.houpin&on at Itwis point; was ignored | 1at london

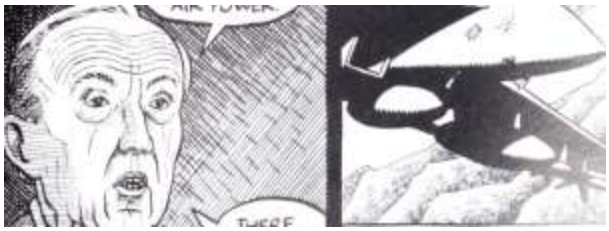
President Clinton had pledged a coverinq -force of w,ooo in the e^ent of such a U.N. withdrawal and he was now faced with the prospect of U.S.

ground troop involvement m an escalating European! war as he entered an election year.

Said US. Secretary of State warren Christopher:

THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE NOW ON NOTICE THAT AN ATTACK AfirAlNST GORAZPE WILL BE MET eri SUBSTANtial and decisive^ air power.

The united allied front pushed U.N.Secretary General Boutros-Ghali to prune the procedure for authorizing air attacks.



THERE WILL BE. NO MORE

Pin PR ijk

STRIKES.

I He removed tine veto p< the civilian area repn hardcore neutra/ist >

I On Auy. 19, the U.M. announced its peacekeepers would ^soon [start withdrawing from Uorazde

On Aug 23, one Serb shell killed 38 people in Sarajevo, which earlier had been afforded the same protection guaranteed 6orazde at the London conference, u

iTomanuin'^^ 1 ^ 1 \Cxoraide, \t seemed then were about to be abandoned.

The next day, the UN. essential ly ceded its authority aver air power to US-dormnated NATO, which now had a pretext it couldn't pass up.l

I WAS in THE CAMP. IT WAS AFTERNOON.

NS^s. /^^

Ppfi

The British had already prepared themselves for a fast evacuation. A captain came and J ordered -the soldiers to be ready

to leave in two hours.

WE HAVE PERMISSION fROM THE SERB SIDE TO LEAVE THROUGH

THEiR TERRITORY-

m

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? IS THE SAME THlNO &OIN6 TO HAPPEN TO US THAT HAPPENED TO SRE6RENICA AND ZEPA?

NO- ITS

BETTER THIS

WAV. NOW OOd

airplanes can hit serb

UINES.

"I didn't believe htm.

Is**"'" - , - • , .

p \-:?•.**■ : mi?

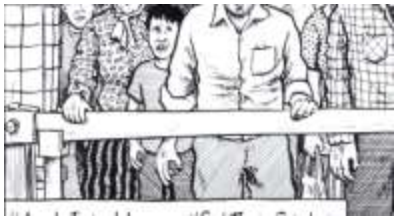
: y-,:-,.^^;, -y

'The British left the camp

"And people heard They approached the camp. "There was amass I of people They wanted to taLke -(bod, gasoline.

viii, T '

flSitf



eRZ

"And i toy myself, I he t>ert>s ""■""■"1 "" 1 — """—""" ™

can see everything. They'll start shelling. They'll killg\/eryone...

'I was the first one who could have taken sugar |salt, coffee, batteries for cars, fuel, but I didn't...

'because 1 thought everything was going to e-nd for us.

If

mMjm,}$

£&

"The people came I in, started to gratJ. Behind them came our soldiers, military police, who pushed them away to J keep everything Ifor the military.

'1 took mg portion of food and left.

"^i

mm

m

\p

-* 1 l-^f%v

JQIn Aug. 30, with the ftora^de peacekeepers Out of harm's way-and no — J longer potential hostages—NATO began a two-week bombing campaign against the Bos nian Serbs, p ^;

yj>Aj,-,-.^-^— £.:.

More than the damage theu caused,the air attacks Serbs that the NATO states hari unambiguously li

hcluddenlu the militarq balance in the former J ^ "Yugosfavia was shifting. Earlier in August Ithe Croatian armu had overrun a separatist I Serb statelet and chased tens of thousands of

5erb refugees into a Serbia worn down by

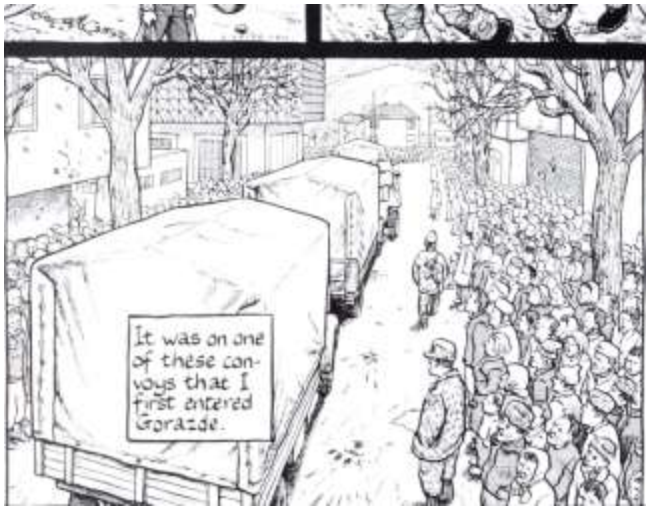
years of UN. sanctions

\>

Then, in September and October, a combined Croatian And Bosnian offensive recaptured large amounts of territory {rom the Serbs in northern Bosnia..

&*«>*

The Bosnian Serbs were reeling and came under pressure from Serbian Resident Slobodan Milosevic -to make peace. A I country-wide cease-fire went into effect on Oct. 1Z. Among its provisions, tne Serbs were required to allow UM. and relief-organization convouS unhindered access to kjrorazde.



FmaJ peace talks were set for November in Dayton, Ohio, but -the US. had already floated ideas for a settlement. The elim-I mation of the Srebne-I nicaand Zepa enclaves played into the \ hands of those who

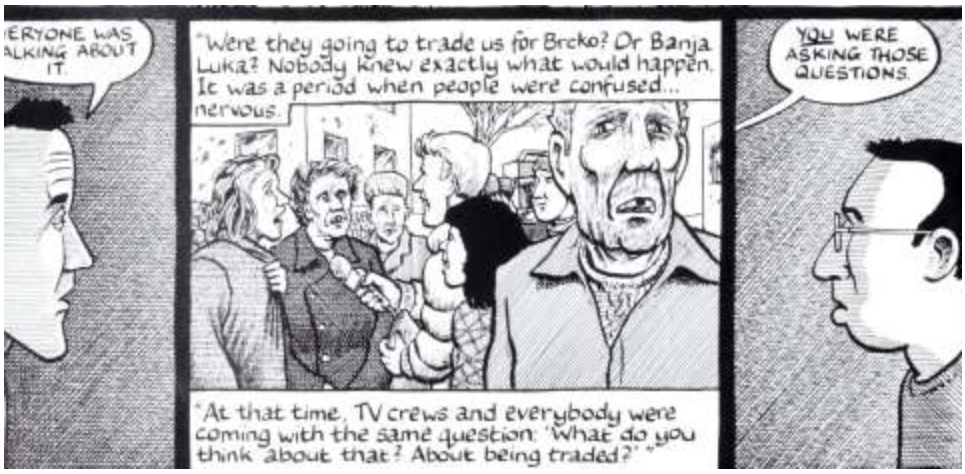
advocated Simplifying the map, including National Security Adviser Anthony Lake. He wanted the Bosnian | government to make the map even simpler bu swapping Giomdt far Serb-controlled Suburbs of Sarajevo.

everyone, was talking about

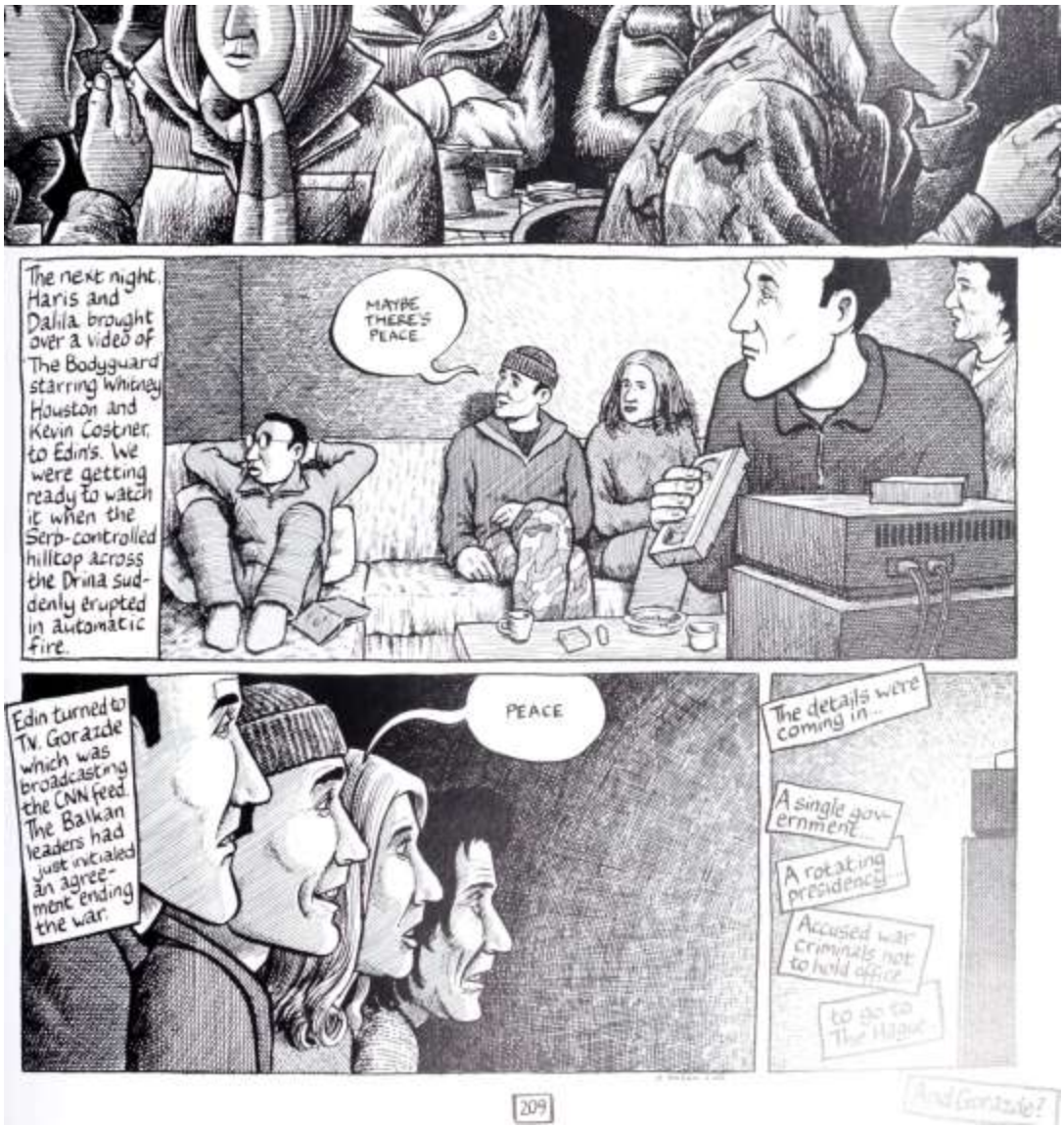
IT.

"Were they 50ino to trade us for Brcko? Or Banja Luka? Nobody knew exactly what would happen. It was a period when peopfe were confused...

"At that time,, TV crews and everybody were coming with -the same duesfcion. 'What do you think about that? About b^iny traded?' "


ERYONE WAS ALKING ABOUT IT.
"Were they going to trade us for Brcko? Or Banja Luka? Nobody knew exactly what would happen. It was a period when people were confused... nervous.
YOU WERE ASKING THOSE QUESTIONS.
"At that time, TV crews and everybody were coming with the same question: 'What do you think about that? About being traded?' "

They'd been in Dayton, Ohio, a long time behind closed doors, the Balkan leaders, and we'd waited for an announcement all day. But no announcement had come
PEACE
PART

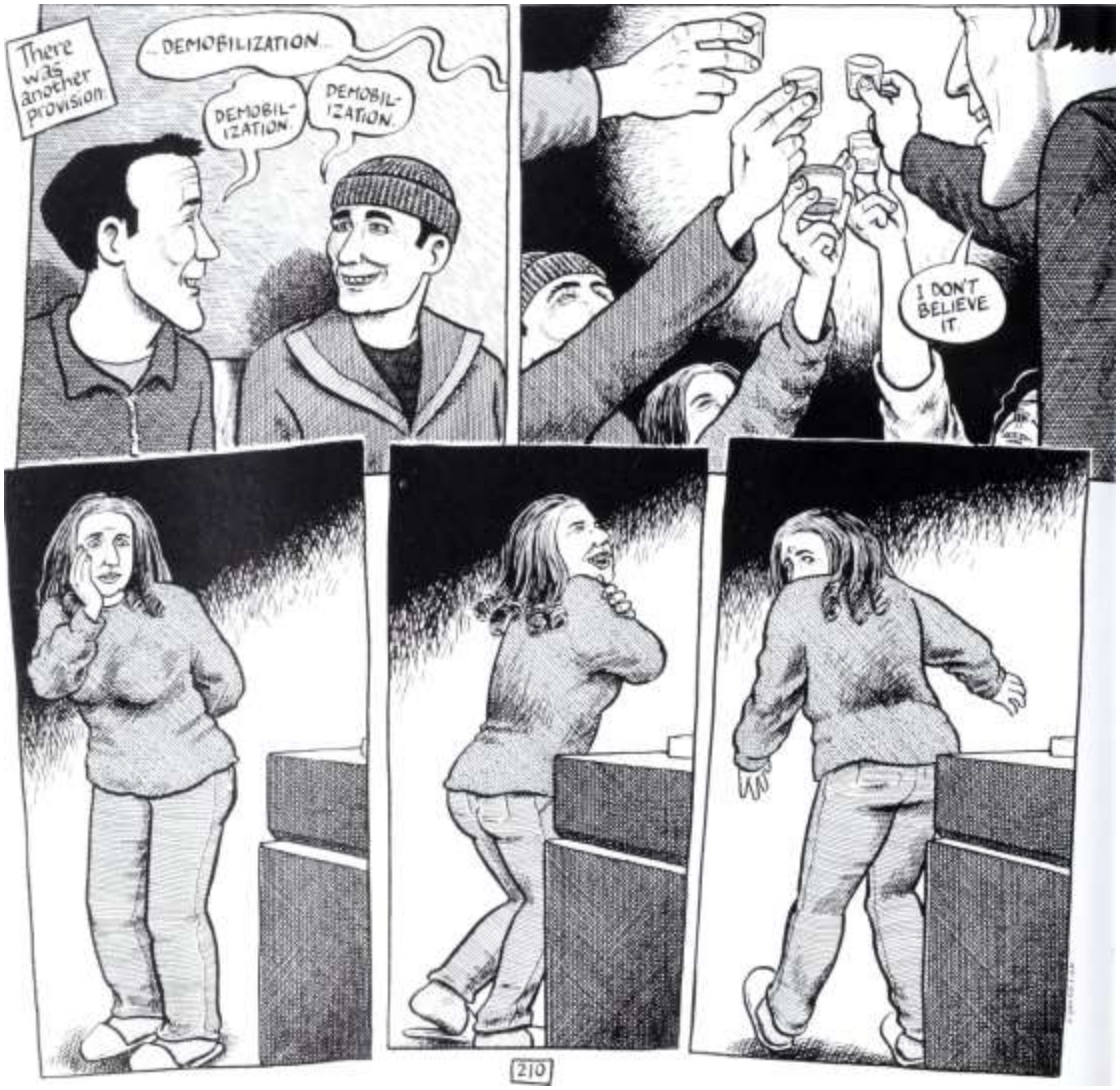

The next night, Haris and Dalila brought over a video of The Bodyguard starring Whitney Houston and Kevin Costner, to Edin's. We were getting ready to watch it when the Serb-controlled hilltop across the Drina suddenly erupted in automatic fire.
MAYBE THERE'S PEACE
Edin turned to TV. Gorazde which was broadcasting the CNN feed. The Balkan leaders had just initialed an agreement ending the war.
PEACE
The details were coming in...
A single government...
A rotating presidency...
Accused war criminals not to hold office...
to go to The Hague...
And Gorazde?
209

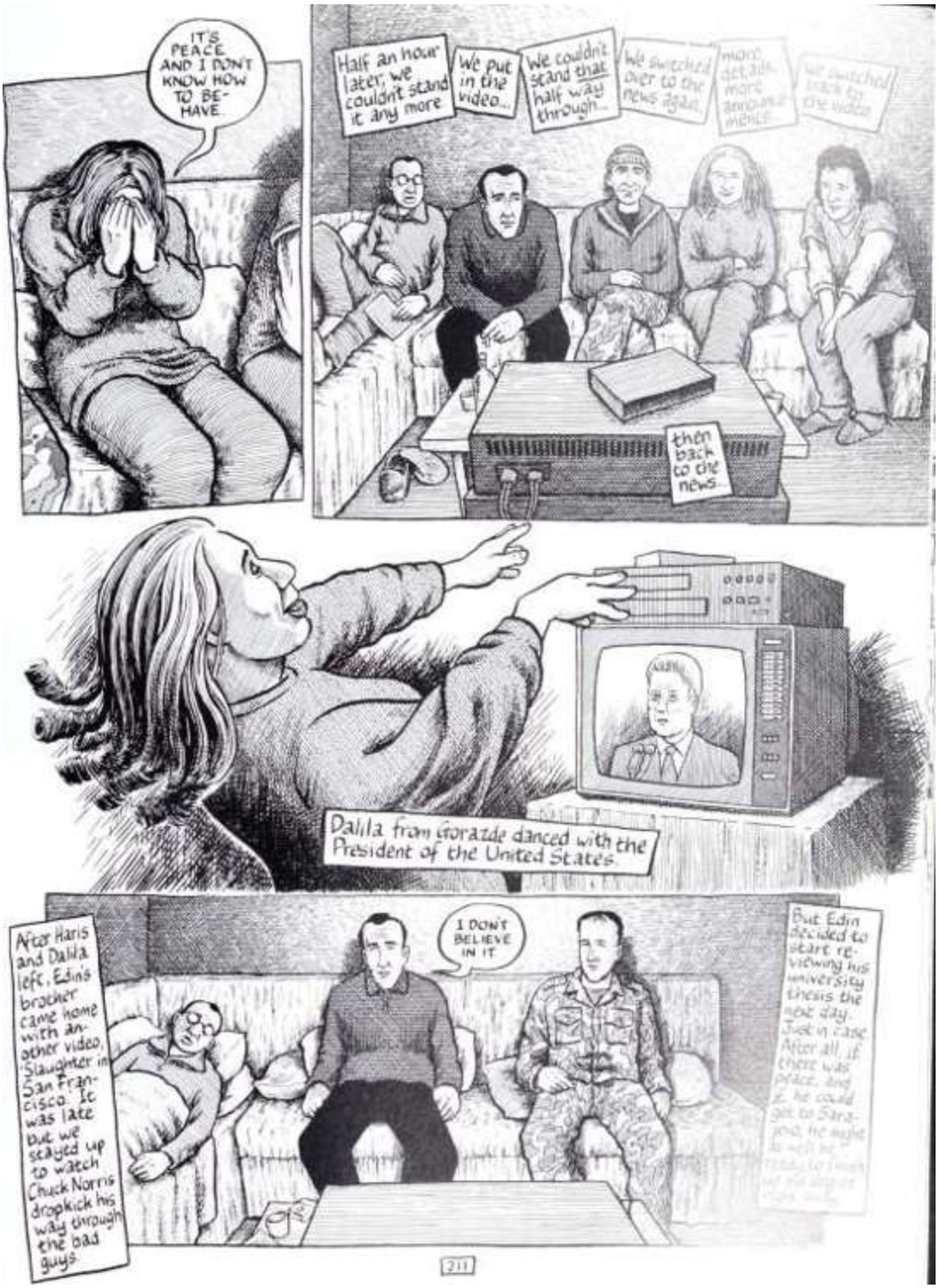
The i£*t night Haris and Palila. brought over a v/de^ of

The Bodyguard starring Iwifaflj Houston and Kevin Coster, to Bn's. We were aettmd ready, a watch it ivhen -the Serb-controlled hilltop arross the Driria sudden Ik) erupted in au.towa.tic -fire.

i-Ss^sK-iw^

A narrow corridor would link Goratde to Sarajevo...




IT'S PEACE AND I DON'T KNOW HOW TO BE-HAVE
Half an hour later, we couldn't stand it any more
We put in the video...
We couldn't stand that half way through...
We switched over to the news again.
more details... more sensational memes
We switched back to the video
then back to the news.
Dalila from Goražde danced with the President of the United States
I DON'T BELIEVE IN IT
After Haris and Dalila left, Edin's brother came home with another video, Slaughter in San Francisco. It was late but we stayed up to watch Chuck Norris dropkick his way through the bad guys
But Edin decided to start re-viewing his university thesis the next day. Just in case. After all, if there was peace, and if he could get to Sarajevo, he might
211

0"1 n Nov. I, J 1995, the Balkan leaders arrived in Dayton, Ohio, I to settle the Balkan wars , under the auspices of , the United States.

President Al^ja Izetbeaovic of Bosnia ha3 once acknowledged that the eastern enclaves, including (Jrorazde, would probably have to be sacrificed in a peace deal. But after the Srebrenica massacre, and the -fallofZepa, the Bosnian government opposed an American proposal to trade Gorazde away. Despite Pentagon concerns that Gorazde was indefensible, a new chief \J.S. negotiator, Richard Holbrooke, dropped the idea of a. uorazde swap.

(a-oraz.de would be linked to Sara-|jevo bu a corridor President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, who was representing Bosr\\as sidelined Serbs, and Bosnian Prime Minister Hans Silajdzic initially haggled over the width of-the corridor on napkins.

Milosevic and the Americans further refmed the corridor while boozing on scotch.

"The Gorazde safe area had been saved

\On Nov. l\ the Balkan leaders initialed an overa ll peace settle^ Iment.

TERRiTORT CONTROLLED 81 THE MUSLIM CROAT FEDERATION)

But the rest

of Eastern Bosnia — including Viseqrad and Foca; the fallen safe areas,Srebrenica and Zepa; and an the other towns and villages Iwhere

Muslims had been expelled or slaughtered-would remain I under the control of those who had cleansed it; the Bosnian Serbs.

\wr

The war in Bosnia was over

-^%„ fi

WE

. BUNKERS V/^o T tup D V//// Agl TO SHOOT U •>•* THE ||f4 INTO THE /y 5 T AME

fW . ! X^> 7rr ^ WE

f£/ VELLEP tWirr-n AT THEM,

«**» »>-r / W^^a r &^^H BK. Willi A"*o* are

r t^^' x^p. ^/=BI BCy/A P£ac£

il -*TlPll^P^>^-S=k. NOW.'"

^S^>

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1AH

SO HAPPY

BECAUSE OF

THE PEACE

TREATY IN

DAYTON/

W%-

*4.

JOE. r ASK ME w HOW H ^'^ AS If WAS. T

LINE ' * BA TrL£-

HOTHlNG-TO WRITE HOME., ABOUT/

Later,

foki

REAL

PEACE. 15

WHEN I CAN

GO FROM

HERE TO

THERE

WHEN WE HAVE

WAGES.

WHEN I CAN PR|V£ A

car from home, to town, when

1 CAN 60 TO A

shop To 6uy

WHAT 1 WANT

THAT'S REAL

PEACE.

REAL

peace will

take Place

shortly after

u.s. troops come

throughout

BOSNIA

SERB

RADIO IS

STiLL TALkiM£

A60UT Pl-

VIPING

BOSNIA.

n

BUT WHEN THE MONEY START5 COMING IN ANP THERE'S A SlNu-LE CURRENCY, tCQhX-OMICS WILL SOLVE THESE PC06LEM5.

i can't BE HAPPY ASOUT IT.

urot I

MAYBE WE'VE LOST SOME EMOTION HERE
THIS IS JUST A PAUSE IN THE WAR
I'M WORRIED ABOUT RAISING CHILDREN HERE
I'M AFRAID EVENTS MIGHT REPEAT THEM-SELVES

Relief that the guns were finally silent was giving way to closer scrutiny of what the peace agreement did and didn't say.
THIS PEACE WAS IMPOSED BY OUTSIDE FORCES WITHOUT FULL REGARD TO JUSTICE AND THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE VICTIMS.
MANY MUSLIMS LOST THEIR HOMES IN PLACES LIKE FOCA AND VISEGRAD.
WHAT ABOUT THEM?
214

Technically Muslim refugees would be allowed to return to homes in territory still controlled by the Serbs...
but without any safety guarantees everyone knew the idea of return was ludicrous.

nechrticalla I Muslim

would be

-to ret urn ^-tohorvies

US

MY HOME IS IN FOCA, AND THE ONLY WAY I'M GOING TO SEE IT IS IF WE WIN MILI-TARILY.
BUT I'VE HAD ENOUGH OF THE BALKANS.
I WANT TO GET OUT OF HERE
For Muslims, the ugly truth of the Dayton agree-ment was that, though it provided for one Bos-nia with a shared cen-tral govern-ment, it had divided Bos-nia into two entities and accepted de facto the results of ethnic cleansing.

Muslims,

p$5rt aflame** was,,,

it provide a ^; one fc>s-rtia. with a. shared central apvero

went, itW» divided Bosnia irtW 00 enCitief fw

accepted de

Results ot e-tiArtic. „ cTeaAS> rt 9

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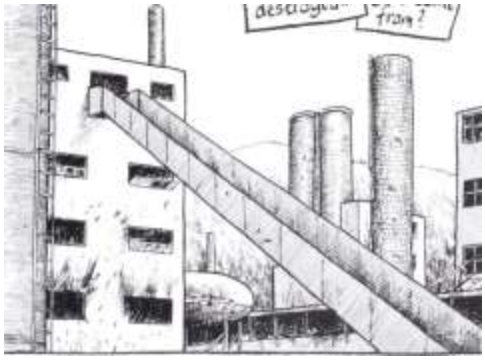
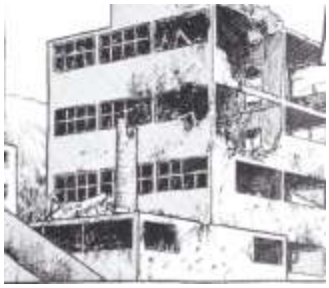
SERB-CONTROLLED TERRITORY
SARAJEVO
MUSLIM-CROAT FEDERATION
GORAZDE


destroyed...
from?

Its industrial base had been completely destroyed...
So where would the jobs come from?

fe



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'ytiSpron,

,' Se ^ but J for th e

' tvas still dependent ™ the Blue 'K°ad tun-

/ J trolly ter r >tory,

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* r .k$. fc**

^

7 THE!

The Spanish TV crew was doing some man-in-the-street, and one man-in-the-street happened to be Riki.
In a few minutes he finished telling them about the war.
RIKI, YOU SHOULD SING A SONG FOR THEM.
NO NO. I HAVE ARRANGED TO MEET MY GIRL-FRIEND.
JUST ONE SONG.
WOULD YOU LIKE ME TO SING A SONG FOR YOU?
RIKI PART III
Why not?
And the Spaniards were joined by an Italian and a Danish journalist.
And it looked like Riki's singing debut might make T.V. and radio Europe-wide.
WE'RE LIVING IT UP AT THE HOTEL CALI-
SUCH A LOVELY

I AM BUT 1 CAM- w£ CAN W, pfv^ifi,

IftfO

WE CAN ITT LPAVlfsJ£ ON NOT HELP 10U MEET NOW. 1 HAVE /vLATEft./ni ,^ fHE AM APPOINT- /n /s-^^njjjN AFTEE-

ment. yi////]rrij^>Trv noon

BUT

Ae

THE CONS/OV f^^gg

WE c, p 1/ WANT TO

US /I 5££ S0HE

DAMAGED /llW^fil 3UILD-NGS

¥the# ,

,■=. A HOLE

n "tuft, WAH--7L

Wf:

sHi

THERE ARE DAMAGED BUILDINGS EVERYWHERE.

i / i>'.,

^ rvi

^tff^\W4/i^V\9lI> ras^fi / SPANISH

*«£U Via KLifeA W ™"

TIMES ON THE CHEEK

f nOw did J

^

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, 7

1 SAW 1

HER.

WALK/NG

ON THE

BRIDGE".

I WENT

UP TO HER

AND MAPE

SMALL

^^ TALK.

INVITED

HER TO THE

NEAREST

COFFEE BAR

TO TAKE A

DRINK, LIKE BILL

CLINTON IN

SOME SMALL,

HOTEL.

DROPPED IV TROUSERS

^o proposer

HE PK-

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Htwxs iSMre that whatever nnternational \

troops C2r>12j /to enfbrcd I \tyt peace / Ttey

plan- I will -sr*. TAk£

fROn the USA.

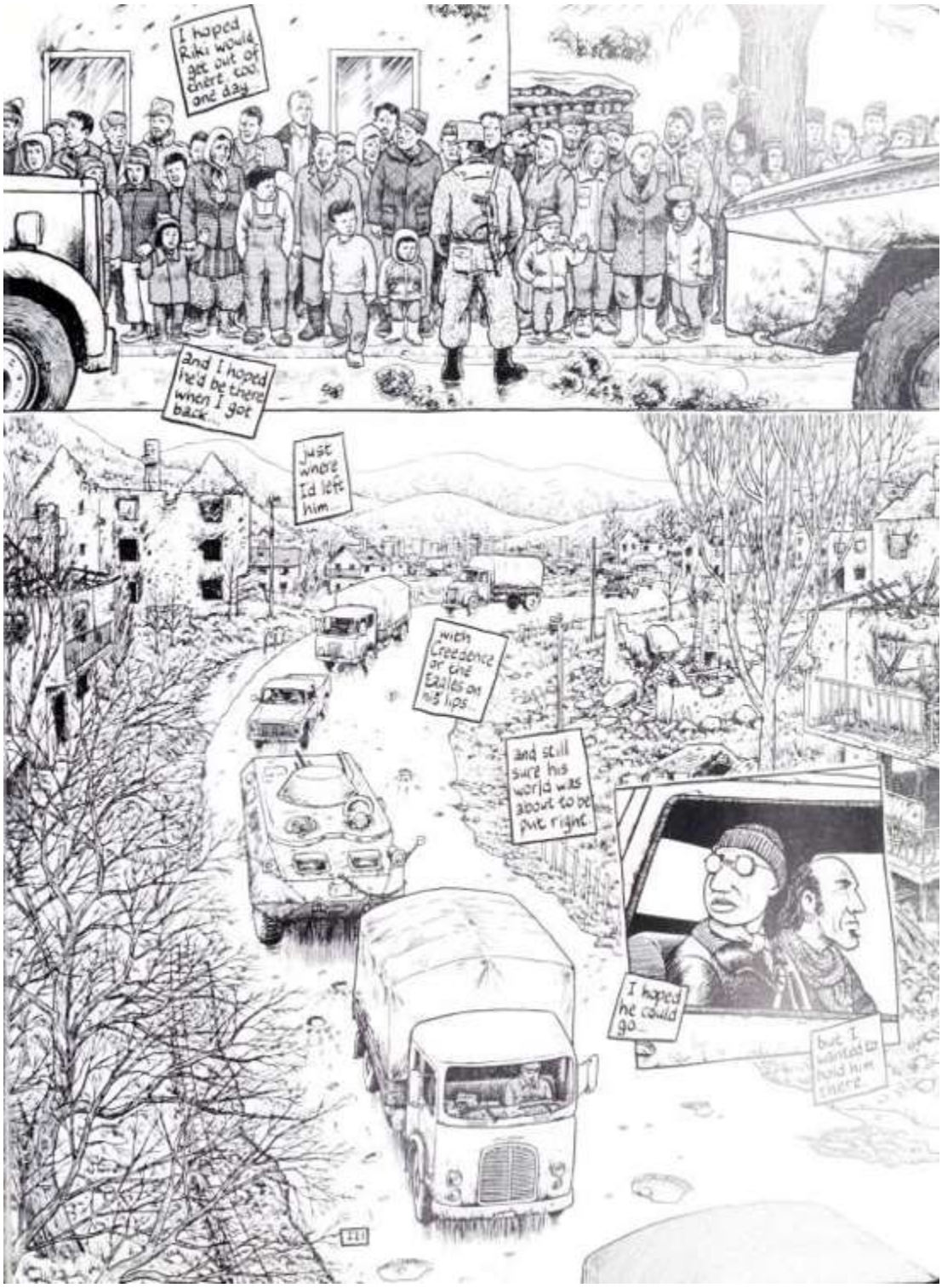
—And tyyost

fflgfaii that

Bosnia would remain-

I told the Ukranian chief of convoy I'd ridden out of Gorazde before with the Frogs...
with the Russians
Surely the Ukranians were more helpful-able than the fucking Russians!
He enjoyed the full benefit of my ass-kissing before dismissing me with a scowl!
New policy!
IFOR!
Things had changed!
The Bosnian police were sympathetic, but they didn't want me on a civilian truck.
There'd been problems
An incident where the Serbs tried to nab a journalist from a convoy
But I've travelled the Blue Road in a civilian truck before. I told 'em...
Sorry!
no doing!
The hours dragged by. Edin had to leave
I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR WRITING OUT THE LYRICS TO "ROUP MARY"
I SANG IT MANY TIMES ON THE BATTLE LINE
Oh well!
CLEANED A LOT OF PLATES IN MEMPHIS, PUMPED ♪ A LOT OF PAIN ♪ DOWN IN NEW ORLEANS...
Then a humanitarian aid worker caught his eye...
from Sweden, she said
ARE YOU MARRIED?

NO ARE YOU!
NO
WILL YOU TAKE ME TO FRANCE?
(SWEDEN)
I HAVE A SONG FOR YOU
WO WO YAY YAY
I LOVE YOU MORE THAN I CAN SAY...
That Swedish woman, she was amused.
charmed, too. I'm sure...
until Riki got a load of the French human-itarian worker.
LEFT A GOOD JOB IN THE CITY...
Meanwhile, I'd been intermittently prostituting myself before another French aid worker for a lift out.
He wouldn't say yes
He wouldn't say no
He kept me hanging till the convoy was ready to roll
then told me to hop in.
I was out of there, baby!
220


I hoped Riki would get out of there one day...
and I hoped he'd be there when I got back...
just where I'd left him...
with Creedence on the tapes on his lips...
and still sure his world was about to be put right...
I hoped he could go...
but I wanted to hold him here...

EPILOGUE PART I
I last crawled to Gorazde in the middle of January 1995 in a convoy escorted by the French Foreign Legion in a van with an avant-garde rock band from the Czech Republic
My Blue Road, it seemed, was now open to just about anyone.
I got there and someone told me that Edin was already in Sarajevo. He'd gone in a civilian truck
Someone else told me that Riki was leaving in a few minutes
I found him near the post and told him to hurry back
At the end of 1995, the Bosnian authorities were beginning to let people leave Gorazde. Civilian buses had joined the convoys and Riki was going on one of them.
He'd been demobilized, and because he was still a student at the University of Sarajevo he'd been given priority to leave
BUT I NEVER SAW THE GOOD SIDE OF THE CITY...
TILL I HITCHED A RIDE ON A RIVER-BOAT QUEEN
He was going to stay with his sister in Sarajevo. She didn't know he was coming, he said
His name was called.
He kissed everyone goodbye.
He grabbed two small bags.
And he was gone.

I stayed just two days.
I sat in the Alkatraz with a few acquaintances
I didn't get much work done
I was lost.
I didn't know this place
I returned to Sarajevo with the Czechs and the Legionnaires
Two civilian buses were with us.
My friend Ema was on one of them.
Once, she'd told me, "If the Blue Road is cut, that will be the end."
But today she was on it, and so far so good.
IFOR

We were getting close to Sarajevo.
I wondered what Ema thought of the dozens of Serb trucks laden down with furniture heading the other way.
It was the beginning of the bitter Serb exodus from the parts of Sarajevo slated to be handed over to the Muslim-Croat Federation under the Dayton accords.
They were going.
Ema was arriving.

EPILOGUE PART II
Sarajevans talked wistfully about a time before the war when they couldn't walk down Marshal Tito Blvd without running into everyone they knew
But so many of their friends had fled Sarajevo and so many were still leaving
It was all new faces now. They'd tell me, refugees from Eastern Bosnia, bumpkins from cow towns, and most Sarajevans bristled at the sight of the strangers.
I hooked up with Edin in Sarajevo
One day we walked down Marshal Tito Blvd together. We couldn't go a few dozen steps without running into people from Goražde — friends, students, and neighbors of Edin's who had just arrived
Sarajevo was full of Goražde.
224

were \ £e^9

-Br the*?, &g„ I Shabby &ra. |

I rgce-fuii of tore sb\6 possibility.

V0 &1

She w^

Stayinq

*it*i a. relative jn nrasno,a. devastated neighbor hoo A

Leila and Emir were beginning at the university.
Emir had found a job at a radio station.
They were both getting used to the traffic, to being in cars.
for them, even war-weary and shabby Sarajevo seemed a place full of life and possibility.
I GO INTO A STORE AND I WANT TO BUY EVERYTHING. EVEN THINGS I DON'T NEED.
I saw my friend Amra in Sarajevo on her first visit out of Gorazde in years.
She was staying with a relative in Hrasno, a devastated neighbourhood on Sarajevo's urban front line.
SA-13161-T
The electricity was off there when I went to fetch her, but not in other parts of Sarajevo.
ALL THE LIGHTS!
On the way downtown with a couple of my colleagues, we passed the Benetton, whose recent opening in Sarajevo had been much derided among foreign journalists as a crass publicity gimmick.
BUT I'M HAPPY THERE IS A BENETTON
I WANT TO GO SHOPPING
We took her to a real happening joint, Club Obala, and that's when she started to feel out of place.
EVERYONE LOOKS COOL.
ALL THE GIRLS LOOK DO'S
THERE ARE SO MANY

ywH \thsre e

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little fucking town"
Edin didn't miss much about Gorazde.
JUST MY FAMILY AND MY DOG BILL.
I WONDER IF THE MINI-CENTRALE IS STILL WORKING.
WHETHER THERE'S GOOD ELECTRICITY.
Edin was reworking his thesis for his oral exam.
He was happy in Sarajevo
He said it looked much like it did before the war though some areas were pretty cheesed up.
"NOTHING TO WRITE HOME ABOUT"

j£d|Vi was I Mrtclt 1 and

<Junt if 3l Comfoft-

abliA&b in twe Skenderjia

Edin was staying with an uncle and aunt in a comfortable flat in the Skenderija neighborhood.
I DON'T WANT ANY NICE THINGS
I DON'T WANT A NICE PLACE OR NICE FURNITURE
IN THE END PROBABLY IT WILL ALL BE DESTROYED.
If this war was over, and he wasn't sure it was, then there'd be another war within 50 years, he said.

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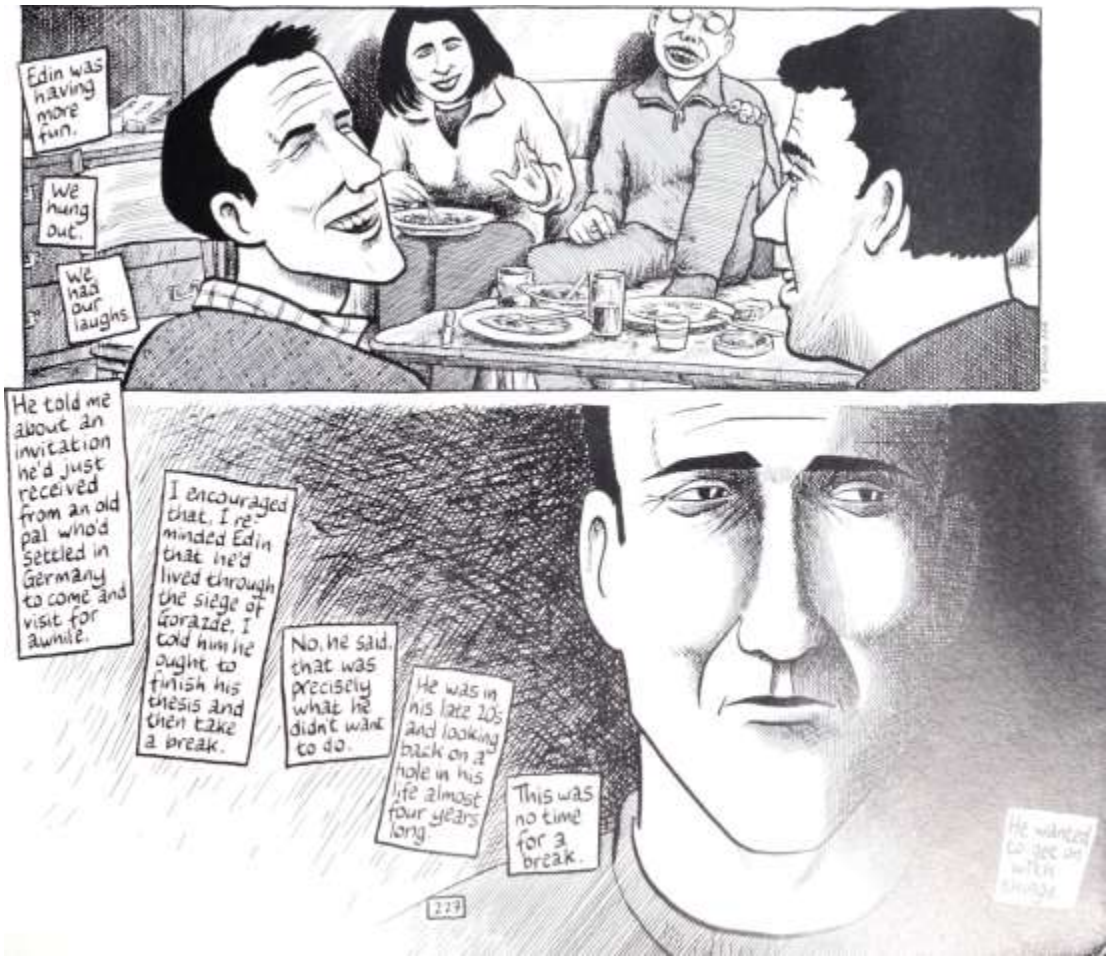
Edin was having more fun.
We hung out.
We had our laughs
He told me about an invitation he'd just received from an old pal who'd settled in Germany to come and visit for awhile.
I encouraged that. I reminded Edin that he'd lived through the siege of Gorazde. I told him he ought to finish his thesis and then take a break.
No, he said. that was precisely what he didn't want to do.
He was in his late 20s and looking back on a hole in his life almost four years long.
This was no time for a break.
He wanted to get on with things.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

I never intended this book to be a comprehensh e oven iew of the break-up of Yugoslavia and the war in Bosnia. However, I found it necessary to provide some context in order to tell the story of Gorazde. I leaned heavily on a number of books for background information.

Noel Malcolm's Bosnia, A Short History (New York University Press, 1994) is widely considered a masterpiece of scholarship, and rightly so. I had the pleasure to listen to Mr. Malcolm talk in Sarajevo in late 1995. Unfortunately, he was introduced for an hour by a professor, a parliament member, and a minister and only got 20 minutes to speak himself. He downplayed the role of the historian — his own role — saying that he'd heard a number of British politicians had read his book (Mr. Malcolm is himself British), but that Britain had changed its policy in Bosnia only after

America had told it to do so. Anyway, I found Malcolm's section on World War II particularly helpful.

As far as World War II goes, I was also greatly helped by Matteo J. Milaz/.o's The Chetnik Movement & The Yugoslav Resistance (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), which describes the different factions and changing allegiances in excruciating detail. I relied on the very readable 77/o And the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia (Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1994), by Richard West, for information about the Partisans and Tito's post-war Yugoslavia.

Mark Thompson's .1 /'//per House, The Ending of Yugoslavia (Vintage, 1992) gave me a good overall feel for Yugoslavia and the thoughts of Yugoslavs at the time of the break-up.

As far as the politics of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, there is no better reference than Yugoslavia, Death of a Nation (TV Books, Inc., 1995 and 199b), by Allan Little and Laura Silber, which accompanied a television documentary. Little and Silber interviewed most all the major political players and their book is a triumph of reporting. It was on my desk at all times. I had the pleasure of meeting Ms. Silber in New York City, but she didn't come to a party I invited her to. Another excellent book on the break-up is Misha Glenny's The Vail of Yugoslavia, The Third Balkan War (Penguin Books, \ i)'*2 and 1993). Glenny has a real understanding of how the Balkans tick, though I read an essay or two by him during the war that pissed me off. I can't remember why.

I did need specific help in understanding the history of the arrangement between the U.N. and NATO in Bosnia and how that arrangement affected the safe areas. Chuck Sudetic's Blood and Vengeance (Norton, 1998) and David Rohde's Endgame (Faimr, Straus and Giroux, 1997) were more than a little helpful. Both these books, which I consider two of the best to come out of the war, tell the story of the fall of the Srebrenica safe area. Another useful book on Srebrenica is Jan Willem Honig and Norbert Both's Srebrenica, Record of a War Crime (Penguin Books, 1996).

For information on the end of the war and the backroom negotiations at the Dayton, Ohio, peace talks, I turned to Richard Holbrooke's 7o End a War (

Random House, 1998). Holbrooke was a U.S. assistant secretary of state at the time of Dayton accords, which he helped design.

I am also indebted to the New York Times and the Guardian newspapers which provided me a day-by-day account of the war in Bosnia.

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A NOTE ON THE POSSIBLE USE OF CHEMICAL W

BY SERB UNITS AT SREBRENICA

I interviewed two men in Gorazde about their experiences breaking out of Srebrenica in July 1995. Both of them claimed the Serbs had used chemical warfare against the column of Muslim men trying to reach friendly territory. When I talked to these men in late 1995, I had heard no such accusations before. As a result, 1 was skeptical and didn't ask many follow-up questions. My mistake. Human Rights Watch has since collected many first-hand accounts in its Nov. 1998 report. Chemical Warfare in Bosnia? The Strange Experiences of the Srebrenica Survivors. Human Rights Watch concluded that the use of an incapacitating agent "cannot be ruled out" though "conclusive evidence remains elusive." I, for one, was convinced by the harrowing and detailed testimonials I read in the report. Those testimonials meshed with my own rather lazy interviews about the matter. As a result, I've chosen to present the accusations of the use of chemical weapons in the chapter that details the fall of Srebrenica.

SPECIAL THANK YOUS

My parents, Leonard and Carmen Sacco, and my sister, Maryanne, and her husband, Keith, encouraged me through the years I worked on this book.

Richard La Sasso, my friend since high school, spent many hours discussing Bosnia with me and always took an interest in the progress of my work. Beyond that, I relied on him often for grammatical and word usage questions.

Alena Nahabedian, Holly Cundiff, and Christ! Guenther rescued me from personal despair though they probably didn't know it.

Almost everyone I met in Gora/.de treated me with great respect and kindness. Edin and his family welcomed me into their home like a brother and a son. Till the last day I was writing this book, Edin continued answering my questions graciously. Believe me, I asked him a lot of questions. If it wasn't for him, this book would not exist. My deepest, deepest thanks go to him.

WITHDRAWf

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Palestine (1992-1995), now complete in one volume with an introduction

b\ Edward W. Said, follows Sacco into the heart of the Middle Eastern conflict.

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"Sacco explores the roots of the violence, the rise of Serbian nationalism and the ethnic killings that followed. As a fusion of comics and reportage, *Safe Area Gorazde* is greater than its parts." —*The Economist*

In late 1995 and early 1996, cartoonist/reporter Joe Sacco traveled four times to Gorazde, a U.N.–designated safe area during the Bosnian War, which had teetered on the brink of obliteration for three and a half years. Still surrounded by Bosnian Serb forces, the mainly Muslim people of Gorazde had endured heavy attacks and severe privation to hang on to their town while the rest of Eastern Bosnia was brutally "cleansed" of its non-Serb population. But as much as *Safe Area Gorazde* is an account of a terrible siege, it presents a snapshot of people who were slowly letting themselves believe that a war was ending and that they had survived.

"Harrowing and bleakly humorous, Sacco's account of life during the Balkan conflict is a timeless portrait of ordinary people caught in desperate circumstances. It's also a work of genius in an unlikely genre: journalism in comic book form." —*Utne Reader*

"Sacco has produced a work that improbably manages to combine rare insight into what the war in Bosnia felt like on the ground with a mature and nuanced political and historical understanding of the conflict. . . . Of the myriad of books that have appeared about Bosnia, few have told the truth more bravely than Sacco. He is an immense talent, from whom we will hear a great deal more."
—David Rieff, *New York Times Book Review*

"Like Art Spiegelman's MAUS, Sacco's book juxtaposes the pop style of comics with human tragedy, making the brutality of war all the more jarring." —*Time*

"Sacco is able to convey the cynicism and black humor that those surrounded with death and mayhem use to fend off misery. His drawings are stark, realistic visions of the gray, depressing world of a land mangled by artillery shells and deformed by poverty." —*The New York Times*

PRAISE FOR *PALESTINE*, JOE SACCO'S PREVIOUS WORK OF COMICS JOURNALISM

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—Edward W. Said

"There is nothing else quite like this."
—*Publishers Weekly*

"Sacco is a pioneer... he captures the soul of the experience with all its mud, sweat, ignoble fears, four-letter words and lasting images. His mind is his camera — still, video and sound all in one.... *Palestine* deserves a place among the very best of documentary."
—*The Journal of Palestinian Studies*

"Sacco, cartoon genius that he is, is really after a portrait of the soul of a nation — or of two nations. And while he's captured all the ugly realities of military occupation, he has also produced a wry and conscientious recording of the conflict between two peoples."
—*World Art*

"It figures that one of the first books to make sense of this mess would be a comic book. Reading it in one sitting, you're astounded by the wealth of human voices, the literal warts-and-all passion of every side of the conflict."
—*Entertainment Weekly*

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